

Situational Analysis on Factors Impeding Female Participation in Teacher Training Programs in Refugee Contexts in Ethiopia

Final Report

July 2020



Art portrait photographed by Dawit Teshale.

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Translation to English: 'Joy after suffering'.

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Abbreviations

AFL	Assessment for Learning
ARRA	Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
CFEM	Child Forced Early Marriage
CPiE	Child Protection in Emergencies
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DEC	Development Expertise Centre
DfID	Department for International Development
DRDIP	Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project
ECCD	Early Childhood Care and Development
ECW	Education Cannot Wait
EECMY	Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus
EFL	English for Learning
EiE	Education in Emergencies

EMIS	Education Management Information System
EOC DICAC	Ethiopian Orthodox Church Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GBV	Gender based Violence
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
GES	Global Education Strategy
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
INGO	International Non-governmental Organisation

IP	International Partner
IRC	International Rescue Committee
KII	Key Informant Interview
MLC	Minimum Learning Capacity
MoE	Ministry of Education
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
PI	Plan International
PTA	Parent-Teacher-Student Association
RCC	Refugee Central Committee
REB	Regional Education Bureau
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

SH	Sexual Harassment
SRGBV	School Related Gender Based Violence
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
TEVC	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
TOR	Terms of Reference
TOT	Training of Trainers
TEC	Teacher Education College
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	The United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	The United States Agency for International Development

USAIDFFP The United States Agency for International Development Food for Peace

VSO Voluntary Services Overseas

WASH Water Sanitation Hygiene

WFP World Food Programme

WHO World Health Organisation

Acknowledgements

There were many people who contributed to this context analysis and without which this situational needs analysis could not have been completed. Firstly, we would like to acknowledge the contribution of the ‘Fantastic’ team of research assistants who helped to gather the data. They know where the mountain is. Thanks also to all the staff of VSO Ethiopia, especially the Education team. Many thanks to Dr Bamlak Alamirew Alemu for his contribution to the data analysis. Thanks also to Electra Babouri for her invaluable advice throughout. We are grateful to ARRA and their officials for allowing us access to the refugee camps across Ethiopia. Thanks also to Megan Jones, Resourcing Officer with VSO for her support. In addition, we acknowledge the work of other researchers and organisations whose work was cited in the report.

Above all, our deepest gratitude goes to all the participants in this study, who very generously shared their views and stories with us.

We are very grateful to you all,

Hulachihunimi āmeseginalehu.

1. Executive Summary

Education is a key component to humanitarian support to refugees and aligns to the SDG 4 on the delivery of inclusive and quality education for all and to promote lifelong learning. To enable this, there has been significant investment to train qualified refugee teachers who can effectively teach children within the refugee camps in Ethiopia. However, this has been faced with a major uptake challenge, especially in limited participation of female refugee trainees.

This situational needs assessment seeks to determine the factors that have impeded the participation of female teacher candidates in incentive teaching and available teacher training initiatives to date and make recommendations for a well informed and evidence based training programme design that fits the needs and challenges of future female teachers.

The research was conducted between January and March 2020. It was led by VSO Ethiopia's Education team, two international volunteers and twenty-one local research assistants. Drawing on participatory action research methodologies, the research engaged many participant groups, including young girls aged 12-16 who are eligible to become incentive primary schoolteachers, drop-out teachers/female teachers who have left the (primary) teaching profession, existing female primary teachers (both national and incentive teachers), community leaders, including parents, camp leaders and religious leaders, representatives from Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs), INGO and/or NGO refugee education specialists and ARRA representatives.

A number of important recommendations flow from the findings. These evidence-based findings will help inform the creation, design and implementation of a teacher training programme that will build the skills of potentially qualified females in refugee camps for a certification / diploma in teaching.

The findings of this situational needs assessment are that there are both external and internal barriers limiting young female refugees' engagement with incentive teaching and available teacher training initiatives throughout Ethiopia, resulting in the limited participation by the female refugee community. The external barriers encompass the socio-cultural norms female refugees live with in refugee camps, and the internal barriers concern the systemic issues that female refugees face when engaging with education structures.

An analysis of the lived experience of women and girls in Ethiopia's refugee camps, foregrounded by the fragility of the refugee context, revealed that abject poverty, psychological distress and negative socio cultural norms and practices create particular gender-specific vulnerabilities for female refugees.

Gendered social norms underpinning the gender division of labour, that dictate that women and girls are responsible for providing care and domestic work, confine female refugees to the home and create time poverty, thereby limiting their capacity for participation in other activities, including education.

Gender inequality is further manifested, not only in female refugees' lack of decision making and engagement with the public sphere but is also in negative socio-cultural practices such as gender based violence (GBV) and child early forced marriage (CEFM). These harmful traditional practices constitute powerful barriers to the uptake of skill building initiatives in teaching and subsequently teaching opportunities by female refugees.

While GBV is all too often masked, due to what Eschete¹ refers to as 'the socio-cultural shrouding' that is 'associated with such gender issues as sexuality and sexual harassment' in Ethiopia², this study found that sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) continues to pose particular challenges for the female refugee community in every refugee camp in Ethiopia. GBV causes many young refugee girls to drop out of school and prevents many female refugees from entering the teaching profession.

Gender inequality in refugee camps also manifested in CEFM practices. Early marriage was identified as a gender specific vulnerability faced by female refugees, in every region. The findings of this study are that early marriage is a major barrier to education in refugee camps in Ethiopia, where many young girls have no option but to drop out of education due to the societal and cultural pressure to marry. This reduces the number of girls who pursue their education and ultimately, the pool of potential female refugees who can participate in the teaching profession.

By unpacking these external barriers, this study helps to understand the social economic and cultural barriers which have hitherto created an 'uptake challenge' and impeded the participation of female teacher candidates in teacher training initiatives³. These need now to be addressed in any future programming by UNICEF to enable a teacher training programme design that fits the needs and challenges of future female teachers⁴.

Through documenting the experiences of young refugee girls and women's engagement with educational structures both within and out with the refugee camps⁵, this situational analysis also uncovered a range of internal barriers having an adverse effect on female refugees' uptake of

¹ Women in Faculties of Teacher Training Institutions in Ethiopia (2003).

² Ibid, p.10

³ UNICEF/VSO Terms of Reference For A Situational Analysis on Factors Impeding Female Participation in Teacher Training Programs in Refugee Contexts

⁴ Ibid

⁵ In primary schools located inside refugee camps and regional teacher training colleges in larger cities in Ethiopia.

incentive teaching/training initiatives. The analysis focused on the internal barriers faced by three key groups of female refugees: (i) young girls studying in primary school; (ii) female incentive teachers working in primary schools, and (iii) female teachers who had previously taught in the same primary schools. All three groups described the primary schools as lacking basic infrastructure and resources such as electricity, water, sanitation, food, fences / gates, air conditioning, desks, chairs, teaching and learning resources, internet and enough classrooms. Most classrooms were only built for 30-40 students yet, on average, teachers taught between 70 and 120 students in each class, with some reporting even higher figures. Many students were left to stand during lessons, provoking disruption and behavioural issues which the teachers struggled to manage. Combined with often high temperatures and humidity, classes were regularly described as ‘suffocating’, ‘overcrowded’ and unconducive to teaching and learning. This is in violation of the UNHCR’s (2015) guidelines which limits the teacher: student ratio to 1:50⁶ in primary schools, a figure that is in line with the ideal teacher: student ratios advocated by the teachers during this study.

Primary schools were also described as unsafe spaces where female refugees would often experience GBV and gender discrimination. Both young girls and female teachers had an everyday fear of becoming a victim of GBV and sexual harassment when walking to school and while inside the school grounds, including in class. Some schools did not have gates or fences which allowed uninvited people to enter school grounds, disturb lessons and could lead to increased sexual harassment of females. Female teachers also faced habitual gender discrimination from male students and colleagues as primary teaching was widely considered a ‘male-only’ profession in the camps. This was reflected in the male: female teacher ratio in the primary schools. At least one camp in every region studied had no female teachers and where female teachers were present the ratio was often greater than 10:1⁷. Such push factors were identified as causing several female teachers to resign and find alternative employment. Thus, to increase the numbers of female teachers in refugee primary schools, appropriate interventions must be introduced to tackle these internal barriers and retain existing female teachers.

These internal barriers were also contributing to female student drop-out. Despite compulsory attendance being ‘enforced’ in refugee primary schools, reported rates of female drop-out ranged from high (20%) to extremely high (45%) across the camps. Commonly, this drop-out would speed up when the refugee girls reached 11-13 years old, during the transfer from lower to upper primary school (grade 5). In grade 5, the language of instruction changes from a local language to either

⁶ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.15.

⁷ 10:1 male: female teacher ratio was considered the average in recent studies undertaken in primary schools in refugee camps in Ethiopia.

English or Amharic depending on the region. This language switch was also regarded as an internal barrier contributing to female drop-out.

Dropping-out of school early automatically excludes young female refugees from enrolling on available teacher training initiatives as completing grade 10 is the minimum criteria for entry. Therefore, to increase female participation in these training initiatives⁸, appropriate interventions need to be introduced to help eradicate such barriers.

Internal barriers were also embedded within the incentive teacher training initiatives, themselves. Very few of the young refugee girls were even aware of these initiatives. Moreover, even when there was awareness, a persistent ambiguity in defining these initiatives existed; primarily due to their invisibility in refugee education policy and a lack of documentation defining their aims and objectives. The recruitment strategy was also vague and failing to suitably attract eligible female refugees.

Once recruited, female teachers identified four more internal barriers in the initiatives: (i) insufficient, and inconsistent, training; (ii) inadequate, and often late, salary payment; (iii) male dominated training spaces that can intimidate and exclude female refugees, and (iv) not enough language training, especially in Amharic and English. These internal barriers were also acting as push factors, especially the paltry, and often late paid, ‘incentive’ salary. Across camps, incentive teachers were paid between 700 to 920 Birr (US\$19.80-26.10) per month, whereas national teachers, who had the similar workloads and responsibilities, had salaries that ranged from 3000 to over 6000 Birr a month. All incentive and drop-out teachers across all camps cited this meagre salary as a fundamental internal barrier.

This report offers a number of recommendations on how these barriers can be holistically addressed by UNICEF programmatically, so as to increase the uptake in incentive teacher initiatives and associated training opportunities by female refugees as well as ensuring the retention⁹ thereof.

Based on the findings in relation to the external barriers limiting the participation of potential female teachers in available teacher training initiatives, this study recommends a holistic response by UNICEF, one that takes education ‘outside the box’ and addresses the external barriers that have impeded the uptake of both educational and teaching opportunities by female refugees in Ethiopia, to date.

⁸ As per the objectives of the UNICEF/VSO TOR

⁹ Although the TOR for this situational needs analysis did not specifically seek to identify barriers to/recommendations around retention, barriers to uptake and retention are closely linked and often mirror each other. Thus, addressing these barriers as part of future programming will address both uptake of incentive teaching/training as well as retention.

UNICEF's anticipated communications for development campaign to help address cultural barriers to female refugees taking up opportunities in teaching must take a context and gender sensitive approach. Programmatically, this implies any future programme will need to be tailored on a 'camp by camp' basis, to consider local context, so as the needs and challenges of future female teachers in each individual camp are met. Future initiatives will need to be rolled out in partnership with the local community. This will involve close collaboration with influential leaders in camp, such as elders, clan leaders, religious leaders, camp leaders etc. This will ensure and community 'buy in' and ultimately the sustainability of these initiatives in each camp.

Future programming must also be gender specific, recognising the difference in men and women's lives in refugee contexts in Ethiopia and the specific gender vulnerabilities that constrain the female refugee community. It is also recommended that gender mainstreaming be embedded into future training schemes for incentive teachers and that empowerment measures are integrated into UNICEF's capacity building programme, going forward.

Given the impact of poverty on refugees' lives, future capacity building initiatives need to 'build in resilience', in particular, poverty alleviation strategies. Current levels of pay which perpetuate occupational poverty must be revised. It is also recommended that female incentive teachers be further incentivised by the addition of an income generation component to the programme.

Negative socio-cultural norms and practices must be challenged. This must be done in culturally sensitive ways through community sensitisation and awareness- raising. Accountability and reporting systems should be embedded in any new programmes and aligned with UNICEF's Strategy on Preventing and Responding to Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) and Sexual Harassment (SH).

Male engagement work with male refugees is highly recommended. Training men and boys to challenge negative socio-cultural norms and practices should be considered in any future capacity building initiatives by UNICEF. There are many examples of how male engagement work has worked to great effect to help reduce the incidence of harmful socio-cultural practices. Community awareness and sensitisation work, more broadly, is also recommended. Community theatre is a very useful tool for challenging the 'taken for grantedness' of such practices and can simultaneously be used as a medium for promoting the education of 'the girl' refugee.

Given the gendered reality of female refugees' lives, time poverty is also a challenge that needs to be addressed. Any future programmes should allow female refugees to integrate education with other commitments. Family friendly policies will encourage more females into the teaching profession.

It is also recommended that UNICEF consider other models of schooling which would help address female refugees' concerns around security as well as challenges posed by time poverty. Future

programming should consider the ‘flexible classrooms’ and learning hubs. These models shows that there is no ‘one way’ of delivering high quality primary education and that solutions should be both tailored and blended to incentivise the female refugee community to get involved in teaching/training opportunities, without creating an additional burden for them.

Finally, where any of these recommendations lie outside of the direct remit of UNICEF’s capacity building, it is recommended that existing in-camp programmes that address gender specific vulnerabilities be supported to address many of the unmet needs of female refugees.

This situational needs assessment also puts forward recommendations to UNICEF to tackle the internal barriers acutely affecting female refugees’ engagement with incentive teaching and incentive teacher training initiatives.

Additional funding will need to be made available provide infrastructure and basic resources to refugee primary schools. This includes building bigger primary schools or adding extensions on to existing school compounds. This would help reduce the high student: teacher ratios reported across the camps, allow more teachers to be hired and thus reduce workloads for existing teachers. The provision of electricity, water, sanitation, school meals and the internet must also be provided.

Secondly, incentive teachers need pathways for career development, including promotion procedures. Following the UNHCR (2015) strategy for refugee education in Ethiopia, this situational analysis recommends an increase in refugee teacher incentives, and an incentive payment that ‘takes into account education qualification, years of experience, and performance of teachers’¹⁰. It also advocates for a standardised incentive scale on merit base, which eliminates the current blanket scale for refugee incentive salary payments. Existing and drop-out teachers reflected that the introduction of these could provide enough of an incentive to recruit, and retain, eligible female refugees to incentive teacher training incentives.

A related recommendation is internationally accrediting the diploma awarded to incentive teachers. This accreditation is possible can be done in consultation with the Ministry of Education in Ethiopia (MoE) and its counterpart in neighbouring countries.

Fourth, this study calls for the existing initiatives to be upgraded into a cohesive programme embedded into refugee education policy frameworks and strategies in Ethiopia. The design of this programme should also include the voices of refugee communities and international partners (including INGOs) to ensure it meets the needs of female refugees. In the interim, UNICEF should

¹⁰ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.15.

manage the development of this programme with a purview to increase the MoE's role in programme design, management and implementation.

Fifth is to improve the quality, coherency and relevancy of the available teacher training. Training content should focus on refugee education, with foundational modules in psycho-social issues and training, English language acquisition, student behaviour management, working in refugee education / education in emergencies (EiE) contexts and soft skills provision, including resiliency skills for female trainees. Refugee females should also be encouraged to support each other in training, and this training should address the internal and external barriers they face; helping them to develop the necessary resiliency skills to cope with such barriers.

Sixth is to raise the awareness of these initiatives in refugee communities, particularly for female refugees. To do this, parallel awareness-raising campaigns about the importance of education should be developed. Key power holders in refugee communities, i.e. parents, clan, Refugee Central Committee (RCC) and religious leaders must be included to not only support this message, but to share it across their networks. UNICEF could develop this and mirror the 2015 Global Partnership for Education awareness campaign¹¹ by adapting this list to include powerful and influential women from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somali, Sudan and South Sudan to inspire and motivate young refugee girls. We also recommend that UNICEF approaches some of these women directly to speak to female refugees, and refugee communities, in Ethiopia. This could have a significant impact on increasing female participation in incentive teacher training initiatives.

The seventh recommendation is to specifically recruit females in incentive teacher training initiatives and train them separately from males inside the refugee camps. Our situational analysis identifies female-only spaces created by INGOs and NGOs which could be used for training. In addition, this study recommends that UNICEF recruits young female drop-outs with at least a grade 8 education, finishes their primary school education in these female-only spaces, and then enrolls them on the initiative. A related option is to recruit existing pre-school female teachers in the camps. In consultation with pre-school teachers, INGOs/NGOs and TTCs, UNICEF could develop an upskilling programme for these pre-school teachers to become incentive teachers.

Finally, this situational analysis posits the necessity of free language provision; especially in local languages, Amharic and English. Young female refugees and female incentive teachers identify as requiring additional language provision to stay in primary school and to enrol on teacher training initiatives. UNICEF should work to increase the provision of English and Amharic courses within the camps and subsidise them. It must also provide tuition for refugee girls and female teachers who want

¹¹ Global Partnership for Education (2015) '15 women leading the way for girls' education.' Available online at: <https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/15-women-leading-way-girls-education>

to learn local languages in camp. Removing language barriers between communities can frequently maximise cultural immersion and integration¹². This also can help national female teachers embed themselves more in refugee communities and enhance the student-teacher learning experience.

Thanks to the hundreds of participants in this study, this situational needs assessment has revealed a number of internal and external barriers that have hitherto limited the participation of female refugees in available teaching/training initiatives in refugee camps in Ethiopia. It provides an evidence base for a well-informed training programme to be designed and implemented.

On the basis of these findings, a number of important recommendations have been made to enable UNICEF to design programme that fits the needs and challenges of future female refugee teachers. It is with great hope that we look to a future when:

‘With education, refugee women and girls will have the confidence to speak out – to contribute to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms around the world. Today’s students are tomorrow’s leaders. They can be the ones who will help to foster peace and stability. They can be the ones who will blaze trails for others to follow and set examples that future generations will seek to emulate. For the future security of their home countries, it is vital that refugee women and girls are given the keys of education to unlock their potential as leaders of peace’¹³.

1.1 Research Questions

Aligned to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 4 & 5¹⁴ - and in recognition of education as a key component to humanitarian support to refugees - there has been significant investment to train refugee teachers to be qualified so they can effectively teach primary school children in refugee camps throughout Ethiopia. However, these initiatives have been faced with a major uptake challenge; particularly the limited participation of female refugee trainees. Further analysis was deemed necessary to determine the factors impeding the participation of female teacher candidates in the teacher training initiatives and also to look for insights on how to increase the support for

¹² See Yang, P. (2018) ‘Experiencing Learning Opportunities: Removing Language Barriers and Maximizing Cultural Immersion’ In D. M. Velliaris (ed.) *Study Abroad Contexts for Enhanced Foreign Language Learning*. Singapore: IGI Global, pp.120-150.

¹³ This is an adaptation from a passage contained in UNCHR ‘Her turn’, available in <https://www.unhcr.org/herturn/>

¹⁴ Quality Education and Gender Equality

underqualified female refugees to meet minimum requirements for teacher training opportunities¹⁵. This provided the rationale for this situational needs assessment.

1.2 Research Partnership

UNICEF has partnered with VSO Ethiopia, to undertake this situational needs assessment within Ethiopia's refugee camps.

UNICEF has been supporting national efforts to ensure the realisation of the rights of children and women through improved child survival, development and protection in Ethiopia since 1952. From its inception, UNICEF has supported the education of over 138,000 children in refugee and host communities with funding from Education Cannot Wait¹⁶. Through its capacity building initiative, UNICEF intends to develop a teacher training programme to build the skills of suitably qualified young females in refugee camps to receive a diploma in teaching. By understanding the challenges affecting young female refugees, UNICEF hopes also to come up with a strategy to help address a range of barriers that inhibit female refugees taking up opportunities in teaching. In the longer term, the programme is expected to increase Ethiopian Teacher Training Colleges' (TTCs) capacity to design a training program that supports women in general and responds to their specific needs¹⁷.

VSO has been working in Ethiopia since 1995. VSO Ethiopia strives to ensure all disadvantaged and marginalised people have access to inclusive basic services¹⁸. They have a strong commitment to SDG 4 - delivery of inclusive and quality education for all and to promote lifelong learning. Its emphasis is on ensuring that all disadvantaged pre-primary and primary school children, both in and out of school, have equitable access to good quality pre-primary and primary education. Research for this current project was conducted as per VSO core principles of taking a people first, evidence based and fit-for-purpose approach.

¹⁵ VSO/ UNICEF Terms of Reference for a Situational Analysis on Factors Impeding Female Participation in Teacher Training Programs in Refugee Contexts

¹⁶ <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/press-releases/education-cannot-wait-announces-multi-year-investment-deliver-education-750000>

¹⁷ VSO/ UNICEF Terms of Reference for a Situational Analysis on Factors Impeding Female Participation in Teacher Training Programs in Refugee Contexts

¹⁸ VSO JD

1.2.1 Justification

‘...One of the most common failures within the development sector is not asking people from the poorest and most marginalised communities what problems most affect them and how they would like them to be addressed. Instead we often make assumptions about what their concerns are...’¹⁹.

VSO’s research approach was a perfect fit for this situational needs assessment. VSO has always strived to give voice to marginalised people. Its unique selling point lies in its people-centred core values, evidence-based approach and its preference for participatory research methodologies. The participatory approach to research favoured by VSO is a response to previous ‘top-down’ approaches to development and involves ‘handing over the ‘stick’ to local people, in recognition of the fact that they have an insight into their own situation which an ‘outsider’²⁰ does not have. Participatory research involves a redefinition of the ‘expert’; an appreciation that local people are the experts in understanding their own situation²¹.

Participatory methods are favoured by VSO because they promote social inclusion and, in research terms, they ‘offer tools to make a bottom-up, comprehensive analysis of situations’²². VSO believes that ‘focusing on individual and community perspectives and locally grounded explanations’ enables researchers ‘to build a much richer picture’ of peoples’ lives²³ and, in turn, helps to co-design context specific and sustainable solutions and programming.

For this reason, there is a natural synergy between the VSO approach to research and the aims and objectives of this situational needs assessment.

Research for this study was designed to be as inclusive as possible, to bring together the voices and views of all the key stakeholders, including; young girls, existing teachers, dropout teachers, parents/guardians, religious leaders, camp leaders, TTC Educators, NGO workers and ARRA officials, in a way that had hitherto not been done.

This was done across most regions in Ethiopia where refugee camps are located. This unique approach allowed for a very holistic analysis to be conducted. For example, using carefully selected participatory research tools, young girls who could potentially enrol on incentive teacher training programmes discussed their lives, their awareness of incentive teaching/training initiatives, as well as the barriers and enablers to enhance their participation in same. These voices have never been heard

¹⁹ Valuing Volunteering: The Role of Volunteering in Sustainable Development, Institute of Development Studies and VSO, 2015, p.38

²⁰ Ibid, p.9

²¹ Ibid, p.27

²² Ibid, 46.

²³ Ibid.

before, but their insights and recommendations were critical in understanding uptake challenges and providing practicable insights for future programme development.

1.3 Overall Objectives:

The two objectives of the situational needs assessment are:

- To understand the factors limiting the participation of potential female teachers in incentive teaching and available teacher training initiatives.
- To identify the needs of the female teachers in refugee camps for effective response in delivering quality teacher training in refugee settings.

1.4 Specific Objectives:

Specific objectives that the situational needs assessment seeks to answer include:

- To identify the external barriers (including socio-economic and cultural factors) that constrain the lives of young girls and female teachers and stop them from taking advantage of teacher training initiatives.
- To isolate the internal barriers within the education sector (including primary schools and Teacher Training Colleges) and teacher training initiatives that prevent female refugees from taking advantage of these initiatives
- Provide insights/recommendations on how to increase the support for underqualified female refugees so that they can meet minimum requirements for teacher training opportunities.
- Provide insights/recommendations on how to improve existing teacher training initiatives and identify what additional support and infrastructure needs to be put in place to achieve this.
- To determine what windows of opportunity are available to fit the potential fast track pre-certification programme in nearby colleges of teacher education and other teacher training institutions.

- To ascertain what the general school dropout grade is for female refugees in the camps.
- To outline the aspirations of female refugees.
- To propose recommendations that address the internal and external barriers emerging from the situational needs analysis.

2. Literature Review: Ethiopia Refugee Context and Incentive Teaching

2.1 Ethiopia's Refugee Population

Ethiopia is the second largest refugee hosting country in Africa. It maintains an open-door policy for refugee inflows into the country and allows humanitarian access and protection to those seeking asylum on its territory²⁴. The number of refugees in Ethiopia has risen sharply in recent years²⁵. According to UNCHR estimates, there are currently 748, 448 registered refugees and asylum seekers in Ethiopia.²⁶

Most refugees in Ethiopia are located in Tigray Regional State and the four Emerging Regions of Ethiopia: Afar Regional State; Benishangul-Gumuz Regional State; Gambella Regional State; and the Somali Regional State:

Breakdown by Location²⁷

Location name	Source	Data date		Population
Gambella	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	41.7%	310,441
Somali	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	26.2%	194,844
Tigray	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	12.0%	89,591
Benishangul-Gumuz	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	8.4%	62,820
Afar	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	7.2%	53,507
Addis Ababa	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	3.2%	23,969
SNNPR	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	0.7%	4,934
Oromia	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	0.5%	4,037

Ethiopia provides protection to refugees from 19 countries:

²⁴ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/eth>

²⁵ documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/988591562865883889/pdf/Education-for-Resilience-Exploring-the-experience-of-refugee-students-in-three-communities-in-Ethiopia.pdf

²⁶ Figures as of as of 29th February 2020; <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/74648.pdf>

²⁷ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/eth>

Breakdown by Country of Origin²⁸

Country of origin	Source	Data date		Population
South Sudan	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	45.1%	335,691
Somalia	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	26.3%	195,498
Eritrea	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	22.0%	163,569
Sudan	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	5.7%	42,106
Others	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	0.8%	5,893
Yemen	UNHCR	31 Jan 2020	0.2%	1,386

Factors driving this include the conflict in South Sudan, the prevailing political environment in Eritrea, together with conflict and draught in Somalia²⁹. Refugee children in Ethiopia predominantly come from countries where educational access and/or quality has been inconsistent, or, as in the case of Somalia, where the education system had completely collapsed decades prior to displacement³⁰.

In 2017, High Commissioner for Refugees, Filippo Grandi, addressed the Regional Education Conference of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), stating that education is not just a right; it is an instrument of dignity and identity. He also refers to education as the key to everything, and essential for building human capital. In 2019 Mahboub M. Maalim reiterated this commitment:

‘No child can be left behind as we ramp up efforts to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals. Through education – and partnerships like this [sic]– we can break the cycle of exclusion and vulnerability that comes with forced displacement and has often derailed and delayed social, economic and human development in the region’³¹.

²⁸ ibid

²⁹ <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/73572>

³⁰ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.7. Available [online] at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/62627>

³¹ Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (cited in 2019:46 UNCHR 2030 document)

Refugee rights in Ethiopia are buttressed by recent legal and policy developments. These include the Djibouti Declaration (2017), the Incheon Declaration (2015), as well as options for integration through the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) (2016), under which Ethiopia is a pilot country, and the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) (2018) that later encompassed it³².

Ethiopia's endorsement of the UN Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (UNDRM) (2016) and signing up to the CRRF reflects a transformative shift in the Ethiopian government's policy and response on refugees from 'only encampment to a mix of encampment, out of camp and local integration policies. Yet, the reality on the ground is not known and progress remains untracked'³³

The Proclamation in the CRRF also represents a significant move forward, with key changes including: (i) a potential opening up of freedom of movement for refugees, (ii) a liberalisation of the right to work for refugees, (iii) more assurances regarding the provision of services to refugees, including education, and (iv) liberalising the asylum application process³⁴. Yet, there is controversy surrounding these changes, especially ii. Refugees do not have an open door to work in Ethiopia. A discourse of self-reliance³⁵ underscores current refugee employment policies and strategies where they are encouraged to pursue self-employment or join 'rural and urban projects jointly designed by the Ethiopian government and the international community to benefit refugees and Ethiopian nationals, including in environmental protection, industry and small micro enterprises'³⁶, where refugees have the same rights and entitlements as Ethiopian nationals. In the education sector, qualified refugee teachers do not have the right to work in public Ethiopian schools; but can work in schools in refugee camps and host communities with some restrictions³⁷.

³² <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/12935.pdf>

³³ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper, p.7.

³⁴ *ibid*

³⁵ 'Education is a prerequisite for displaced children's self-reliance and is one of the surest development investments for improving economic achievement. Equitable and quality education makes a distinct contribution to promoting self-reliance of refugees and vulnerable host communities through its role in the development within human and social capital' (UNICEF Ethiopia, 2019, p.1).

³⁶ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper, p.8.

³⁷ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia. Available online at: <http://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/988591562865883889/text/Education-for-Resilience-Exploring-the-experience-of-refugee-students-in-three-communities-in-Ethiopia.txt>

2.2 Refugee Education Policy and Delivery in Ethiopia



(UNICEF Ethiopia/2018/Mersha: Students learning in Makod Primary and Secondary School in Tierkidi Refugee Camp, Gambella Region, Ethiopia)³⁸.

2.2.1 Refugee Education Policy and Funding

The 2011-2015 Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP) IV and the Education and Training Policy (ETP) states the importance of providing free education. Additionally, the ETP stipulates children have the right to learn in their mother-tongue language at least through the basic primary education level³⁹. These foundations have been transferred into Ethiopian refugee education policy. In addition, the Education Sector Development Plan V (ESDP V) includes provisions on Education in Emergencies (EiE), ‘primarily through teacher training and support to continue education during crises’⁴⁰.

The Ethiopian government’s adoption of the Global Education Strategy (GES) 2012-2016 has also resulted in some key changes in refugee education programming. According to the UNHCR (2015) ‘(t)he GES has broadened collaboration and networking between UNHCR and education partners; inter alia the GES has served as a framework for the establishment of vision towards a bigger picture of education’⁴¹. This has resulted in increased staffing in refugee education planning and

³⁸ Photo retrieved from <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/03/1034141>

³⁹ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018. Available [online] at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/62627>

⁴⁰ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia, p.10.

⁴¹ UNHCR (nd) *Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide*, p.5.

programming across key bodies and organisations in Ethiopia, including the UNHCR and the Agency for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA)⁴². It also led to the development of The Ethiopia 2015-2108 Refugee Education Strategy⁴³ which aimed to adapt and contextualise the GES to the Ethiopian context and improve refugee access to high quality education. The strategy provided both overarching guidance on refugee education in Ethiopia and indicated that ‘detailed actions and implementation plans will be developed at regional and sub-regional levels so that they can be responsive to the needs of specific contexts and caseloads’⁴⁴.

Refugee education in Ethiopia has acquired funding from several sources. The UNHCR currently funds most, if not all, of the day-to-day refugee education system through its funding of ARRA, EOC-DICAC, NGO partners and its own education work. This also includes university scholarship provision. There are currently three major donor projects in progress; Education Cannot Wait (ECW), UNICEF Ethiopia’s Learning and Development Programme, and the World Bank. In addition to this, there are around 13 INGOs/NGOs who are actively involved in implementing Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE), primary and secondary education in refugee camps and host communities, as well as a number of others who provide support through accelerated learning, child protection, sports, school feeding, technical and vocational education and training (TVET), and secondary migration work⁴⁵.

From 2016, UNICEF Ethiopia’s Learning and Development Programme has been working across refugee camps to provide ‘148 primary classrooms for 14 800 children’⁴⁶ and ‘3 star hygiene’⁴⁷ interventions, including the improvement of WASH facilities in primary schools. US\$60 million from the World Bank is currently being channelled to support refugee education through the General Education Quality Improvement Programme⁴⁸. This was part of the US\$100 million Development Response to Displacement Impacts Project (DRDIP) which began in 2016 and ends in 2021⁴⁹. Also, since 2016 Ethiopia has been receiving substantive funding from ECW, the first global fund dedicated to education in emergencies and protracted crises. Hosted by UNICEF and primarily funded by the Department for International Development (DfID), ECW ‘brings together public and private partners to mobilize the funding needed to deploy immediate and sustainable programmes tailor-made to the

⁴² *ibid*

⁴³ Available online at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/62627>

⁴⁴ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.6

⁴⁵ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

⁴⁶ UNICEF Ethiopia (2019) *Education for Refugees and Host Communities*, p.2.

⁴⁷ *ibid*

⁴⁸ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper, p.11.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

educational needs of children affected by conflict⁵⁰. ECW has also supported Education Management Information System (EMIS), teacher training, school assessments and capacity building in selected refugee camps⁵¹.

One of ECW's biggest grants in Ethiopia was US\$15 million to pay for new schools and teachers in the refugee-hosting regions of Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz to pay for new schools and teachers⁵². The funds led to the construction of 'three secondary schools, 84 classrooms in primary schools, and classroom furniture such as desks, chairs and chalkboards'⁵³. It has also supported teacher training in these regions and provided teaching and learning materials⁵⁴. It is hoped that 12,000 children will gain an improved quality of education from this investment⁵⁵.

For the past three to four years Plan International (PI) has also been implementing a fully funded and integrated Child Protection in Emergencies (CPiE) and Education in Emergencies (EiE) project in the Gambella region. As a result, PI has been able to support different life saving protection and education activities, including supporting Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD). In addition to the construction of new classrooms and ECCD centres, the project focuses on strengthening existing education services and increasing the enrolment rate, attendance and success of school-aged children, especially girls⁵⁶.

2.2.2 Refugee Education Delivery

2.2.2.1 Relationship between Governmental and Non-Governmental Bodies

The administration and management of the refugee education in Ethiopia is decentralised to federal Government structures. Ethiopia has nine National Regional States and two City Administrations. Each has its own bureau of education that is primarily responsible for administrating and managing refugee education systems. These bureaus are administratively and financially responsible for refugee education delivery but receive some monies from the Federal Government 'in support of general

⁵⁰ UN News (2019) 'Education remains an impossible dream for many refugees and migrants.' UN News, 6 March 2019. Available online at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/03/1034141UN>

⁵¹ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

⁵² UN News (2019) 'Education remains an impossible dream for many refugees and migrants.' UN News, 6 March 2019. Available online at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/03/1034141UN>

⁵³ *ibid*

⁵⁴ *ibid*

⁵⁵ Westfall, A. (2018) 'How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.' UNICEF News 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/how-improve-quality-education-refugee-camps-qualify-teachers>

⁵⁶ <https://plan-international.org/eu/case-study-ethiopia-eie>

education, technical vocational training and teacher training colleges that operate in their respective States⁵⁷. The Ministry of Education (MoE) in Ethiopia focuses on policy and guidelines that help implement *national* education on the basis of research and policy analysis. Regional education bureaus (REBs) tend to be left to their own devices to devise and implement refugee education policy according to their regional needs and realities⁵⁸. They largely leave these operations to ARRA and, to a lesser extent, district (woreda) education offices⁵⁹.

ARRA is part of the Ethiopian government's federal security structure that has been managing and administrating refugee operations since the 1990s⁶⁰. Like the REBs, ARRA's operations and strategies are implemented across the regions and camps in variable ways that depend on local contextual factors⁶¹. This also applies to programming approaches, with donors and implementing partners agreeing more 'ad-hoc arrangements with ARRA officials in certain locations to undertake activities that sit outside of the traditional encampment approach'⁶².

Due in part to the arrival of the CRRF with its new approach to refugee education - and ECW and World Bank funding that has supported joint planning workshops bringing ARRA and REBs together at the regional level - there has been increased cooperation between ARRA, REBs and the MoE to begin to align national and regional educational policies and standards⁶³. Solidifying this growing cooperation and in order to agree ways of working in the context of large donor projects, the Ministry of Education and ARRA also signed their first Memorandum of Understanding in May 2019, which includes new arrangements on the introduction of school grants to refugee schools and the incremental transfer of refugee secondary school to government administration⁶⁴. Currently refugee education services in Ethiopian refugee camps, and sometimes host communities, are delivered in partnership with UNHCR, MoE, ARRA, INGOs and NGOs. Efforts are being made to ensure that 'refugees follow a certified curriculum of either the host country, which may need to be accompanied by intensive support for language skills in the host country and/or mother tongue instruction'⁶⁵.

Refugee education coordination and partnership with stakeholders is modelled on an accountability matrix that frames the roles and responsibilities of UNHCR, ARRA, INGOs, NGOs and operational

⁵⁷ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.8.

⁵⁸ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

⁵⁹ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper. Pp. 1-32

⁶⁰ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

⁶¹ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper. Pp. 1-32

⁶² Ibid, p.7.

⁶³ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.49.

agencies such as UNICEF and the World Food Programme (WFP). This matrix has been adopted by all stakeholders, including the UNHCR and ARRA, and has since adopted as a working document for the coordination of sectors, including refugee education⁶⁶.

2.2.2.2 Delivery of Refugee Education in Camps

Since 2015, the refugee education programme has followed the Ethiopian MoE's education system, regardless of whether refugee students attend a refugee or host community school⁶⁷. This mainstreaming of refugees into the national education system sets out to enhance organisational capacities and efficiency of refugee education administration and management, especially in UNHCR and government as the core agencies leading and managing the refugee education programme⁶⁸.

In Ethiopia preschool (ECCE) is for children 4-6 years old, primary education is divided into lower primary grades 1-4 for children who are between 7-10 years old, and upper primary grades 5-8 for children 11-14 years old⁶⁹. Completion of primary school is followed by two years of general secondary education in grades 9-10 for young people aged 15-16 years, and then preparatory secondary education in grades 11-12. Grades 9 and 10 of general secondary education are organised so that students can transit to either further academic training in grades 11 and 12, and potentially university training or professional training. National examinations are given at the end of grades 10 and 12, with regional examinations administered at the end of grade 8⁷⁰. Dependent on regional policy, the curriculum is usually in the refugee students' mother tongue⁷¹ for lower primary and then the curriculum changes Amharic or English for upper primary and secondary school⁷².

2.2.3 Studies of Refugee Education in Ethiopia

The provision of educational opportunities is one of the highest priorities for refugee communities⁷³. Due to Ethiopia's adoption of the CRRF, it seeks to increase enrolment of refugee students at all

⁶⁶ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.49-50.

⁶⁷ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper. Pp. 1-32

⁶⁸ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ This is not always the case as primary school classes often have students who come from different countries, cultures and/or clans. This is discussed in the findings.

⁷² Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper. Pp. 1-32

⁷³ <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/4fe317589.pdf>

levels of education; reinforcing the Djibouti Declaration's pledge to deliver to quality education to refugees. Despite such moves, preliminary enrolment data, cited by the UNCHR, estimates only 212,722 refugee students are in school in Ethiopia. These include 59,846 at pre-primary, 138,249 at primary and 14,627⁷⁴ at secondary school levels.

This number is low and challenges persist. These include: limited and uneven access to education for refugees across regions and settings of displacement, particularly for girls; and the tendency for refugee education to be of low quality, including a pedagogical lack of focus on learning⁷⁵. Most teachers are not adequately trained, with only 35% of the refugee incentive teachers and Ethiopian national teachers officially qualified. Eschete (2003) found that cultural values, attitudes and behaviours, institutional structures and environmental factors remained obstacles to the greater participation of women at all levels of education in Ethiopia⁷⁶.

In 2019, Lasford & Malik, working on behalf of the World Bank, conducted a study of the experiences of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia: Gambella region, the Jigjiga area of Somali region (two of the research sites of this situational needs assessment) and Addis Ababa city. This study provides a contemporary and comprehensive overview of education in the three targeted refugee camps at what it considers 'a pivotal time for refugee education in Ethiopia'⁷⁷. Rich in literature, this document is a rich source of secondary data which provides invaluable insights for VSO Ethiopia's situational needs assessment.

In its study, Lashford & Malik (2019) found refugee pupils who were ambitious and had dreams for the future. It highlighted that the most desired occupations for the boys and girls interviewed were doctors and teachers. The study also identifies several key challenges in the refugee contexts studied. At a basic level, hunger and distance from home to school were cited by respondents as barriers to learning. Apart from the lack of qualified teachers, water, sanitation and housing issues remained ongoing concerns for the participants at school. Hygiene and lack of water were specifically raised by respondents as barriers to education; not only creating difficulties for children while at school, but indeed often preventing them from attending school in the first place. The study also found that 'perceptions of progress are low' and that students self-report problems in understanding content⁷⁸. Despite individual teachers expressing motivation, 'large class size, limited teaching aids and little

⁷⁴ <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/74648.pdf>

⁷⁵ <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/4fe317589.pdf>

⁷⁶ Eschete, 2003, 'Women in Faculties of Teacher Training Institutions in Ethiopia, UNESCO International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa'.

⁷⁷ Lashford, S & Malik, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia, p.1.

⁷⁸ *ibid.* p.69.

training inhibited teachers from effectively using student-centred learning’⁷⁹. In relation to teachers, the research found that:

‘... the most common issues raised about teachers were that they were often absent and that there were not enough of them. Gender parity among teachers was found to be low, with male teachers outnumbering female teachers by almost ten to one in primary schools. A critical recommendation of this report is that ‘teacher upgrading for refugee incentive teachers be scaled up’⁸⁰.

However, efforts to do just that have met with very low levels of uptake by girls, in particular, providing the rationale for this VSO Ethiopia’s situational needs assessment. There is scope to unpack this issue further. Moreover, while Lashford & Malik’s (2019) study focused on ‘under-explored barriers to learning for refugee children in Ethiopia’⁸¹ this situational analysis complements these findings by unpacking the under-explored barriers to teaching opportunities for refugee girls in Ethiopia.

Over 60% of refugee schools in Ethiopia do not fulfil standards for safe learning environments. Schools lack basic facilities including potable water and sanitation, basic furniture, ventilated classrooms, appropriate sex-segregated latrines and hand-washing facilities⁸². All schools do not have services targeting adolescent girls, for example, girls’ changing rooms, hygiene materials, and waste disposal facilities. Most schools and school infrastructure are not accessible to children with disabilities either due to lack of services catering to this group or due to physical barriers⁸³. This situational needs assessment will explore such barriers to determine their impact on the uptake of eligible female refugees into existing teacher training initiatives operating within the camps.

2.2.4 Teaching in Refugee Camps

In refugee education contexts in Ethiopia, there are two types of teachers: refugee incentive teachers and national Ethiopian teachers. The standard format is that refugee primary schools are staffed by refugee incentive teachers in lower primary school and national teachers from upper primary onwards. Less than half of the teachers in refugee primary schools have minimum qualifications, whereas by secondary level, almost all are qualified. Contemporaneously, ECW (2020) estimates that out of all

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.70.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.1.

⁸² UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

⁸³ Ibid.

primary 1-8 grade level teachers, only 245, 959 are adequately qualified⁸⁴. Because the countries from which refugees have fled have suffered long years of conflict and instability, refugee incentive teachers are largely untrained and unqualified teachers⁸⁵. Gender parity amongst teachers is low with male teachers outnumbering female teachers – approximately 10:1 ratio in primary schools⁸⁶.

Both incentive and national teachers are perceived as low status professionals. Entry requirements for both are among the lowest of all professions⁸⁷. ‘One can fail a national exam’, a qualifier for university entrance, ‘and still become a primary teacher’, one regional official commented⁸⁸. It is even lower for incentive teachers where, in many cases, refugee incentive teachers are also primary students⁸⁹. At a refugee school with two shifts, it is possible to observe a refugee teacher teaching lower primary classes in the morning and then attending, as students, upper primary classes in the afternoon⁹⁰. The lack of a well-organised system to supply qualified national teachers in refugee operations across Ethiopia has contributed to a shortage of qualified teachers and the growth of refugee incentive teaching⁹¹.

According to Westfall (2018), refugee incentive teachers are also part of a new movement of change for the refugee communities within Ethiopia⁹². In recognition of this, there has been significant investment to train incentive teachers who can effectively teach children within the refugee camps. For instance, ECW supported 343 of refugee teachers in Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz to receive scholarships to attend summer courses at the regions Colleges of Teacher Training (TTCs) where they attended classes with Ethiopians studying to become national teachers⁹³. The courses were taught in English, and they could choose which track to study, from Generalist, to Physical Education, Integrated Sciences, Math, Social Science, or English⁹⁴. They are expected to graduate with an official

⁸⁴ Education Cannot Wait (2020) Strengthening Resilience of Education in Ethiopia. Available online at: https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/media/2566/file/STRENGTHENING_RESILIENCE_OF_EDUCATION_IN_ETHIOPIA_EDUCATION_CANNOT_WAIT_FACILITATED_Multi-Year_Resilience_Programme_ETHIOPIA_2020_-_2023.pdf

⁸⁵ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

⁸⁶ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper, p.3

⁸⁷ UNESCO (2019) ‘Teaching refugees in Ethiopia: when the teacher is also a refugee.’ UNESCO News 4 October 2019. Available online at: <http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en/teaching-refugees-ethiopia-when-teacher-also-refugee-9163>

⁸⁸ Ibid, np.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Education Cannot Wait (2020) Strengthening Resilience of Education in Ethiopia, p.16.

⁹² Westfall, A. (2018) ‘How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.’ UNICEF News 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/how-improve-quality-education-refugee-camps-qualify-teachers>

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Ethiopian teaching certificate or diploma in the coming years⁹⁵. The REBs and colleagues support with training, learning and integration at the schools and TTCs, while UNICEF, ARRA and UNHCR coordinate, finance and manage the project⁹⁶.

But, initiatives such as these are not open to all teachers, as they are in part-merit-based and are dependent on availability of funds⁹⁷. In addition, such initiatives have had a major uptake challenge, particularly in relation to the limited participation of female refugee trainees. The concern for UNICEF and others is that this will ultimately affect the quality of education for girls at camp level.

2.2.5 Why Female (Incentive) Teachers Matter



(Image by Mark Stedman⁹⁸)

The limited participation of female teachers in incentive teacher training initiatives in refugee camps in Ethiopia will impact the quality of education for girls at camp level, because studies show that female teachers do matter.

⁹⁵ UNESCO (2019) 'Teaching refugees in Ethiopia: when the teacher is also a refugee.' UNESCO News 4 October 2019. Available online at: <http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en/teaching-refugees-ethiopia-when-teacher-also-refugee-9163>

⁹⁶ Westfall, A. (2018) 'How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.' UNICEF News 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/how-improve-quality-education-refugee-camps-qualify-teachers>

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ /Flickr Mark Stedman/Flickr, CC BY-ND and reproduced on <https://theconversation.com/girls-thrive-with-women-teachers-a-study-in-francophone-africa-95297>

A 2017 study in Western and Central African primary schools by Lee, Dong-Yun Rhee and Rudolf, for example, found that girls thrive when they have women teachers⁹⁹. In that study, girls even outperformed boys in the subjects for which they had women teachers. At a broader level, the study also found that having female teachers can influence students' gender-related attitudes towards different school subjects. The mere presence of female Maths teachers, for example, can help shatter the gender stereotype that boys are better at Maths than girls. These findings were corroborated by Stormquist (2017) who concluded that, in general, a gender balance in the classroom helps create a healthier environment, where children and young people have access to the wisdom and guidance of adults with varying experiences, attitudes, and skills.¹⁰⁰ Apart from gender balance, women teachers play other important roles within the school and classroom. First, they provide accessible and continuous professional role models. Secondly, parents of young girls feel more comfortable when women teachers are in schools and that their presence contributes to a safer environment; reducing sexual harassment and sexual violence (despite the fact that women teachers themselves often experience sexual harassment and violence themselves). Third, there is a widespread perception that women are more likely to be sensitive to students' emotional needs, particularly those of girls (ibid.). Preliminary data analysis for this situational analysis indicates that while students and teachers in refugee camps in Ethiopia valued the contribution that female teachers can potentially make, the barriers to incentive teaching for female candidates remain overwhelming.

⁹⁹ <https://theconversation.com/girls-thrive-with-women-teachers-a-study-in-francophone-africa-952970>

¹⁰⁰ https://worldsofeducation.org/en/woe_homepage/woe_detail/15068/women-teachers-in-africa

3. Situational Needs Assessment: Approach and Methodology

The following are the data collection principles underlying the research process:

- Data collection must be done in a culturally and gender sensitive manner.
- Participatory research principles and approaches, as well as methodologies (including research methods / tools), were deemed the most appropriate in this context.
- To embed VSO principle of social accountability (as researchers).
- To embed and implement VSO core approaches of social inclusion and gender.
- To follow UNICEF's humanitarian principles when working within a humanitarian context, where the interviewees are likely to experience high vulnerabilities, such as psychosocial challenges.

3.1 Recruitment and Training

The situational needs assessment began with the selection and recruitment of two qualified and experienced international volunteers. Twenty-one Ethiopian research assistants were subsequently contracted and trained on participatory research principles and methods, as well as VSO's core values and safeguarding policy. The two-day training workshop included a PSEA (Protection against Sexual Exploitation and Abuse) briefing by UNICEF Education specialist Mr Hailu Workeneh. Dr Bamlak Alamirew Alemu was subsequently recruited to assist with the data analysis. This blend of Ethiopian and western perspectives is reflected in the report.

3.2 Sampling

UNICEF recommended that all 26 refugee camps in Ethiopia be analysed. This was to ensure that the uniqueness of each of the refugee camps was captured, and factors influencing the participation of the teachers in each of the areas were ascertained. Thus, initially, there was no need for sampling of the camp sites¹⁰¹. But, initial discussions with ARRA officials highlighted that half of the camps were, in fact, inaccessible on security grounds. In the end, VSO conducted research at all the thirteen available camp sites across five regions of Ethiopia: Tigray, Somali, Gambella, Afar and Benshangul Gumuz.

¹⁰¹ ibid

To access all thirteen camps, VSO applied for permission with ARRA at a national level. When the permission was granted, the national office informed then all appropriate ARRA offices at a regional level. All thirteen camps were accessed, and data collected, between February and March 2020.

Once in the camp, VSO used purposive sampling to identify and access all participant groups. VSO did this through pre-identified gatekeepers who included: ARRA officials, camp leaders¹⁰², primary school head teachers and other local refugee committees/bodies. All were approached to identify and recruit eligible participants across the nine participant groups (see below). VSO also used snowball sampling to find drop-out teachers¹⁰³. In this instance, existing female primary school teachers, head teachers and/or camp leaders were asked about former female primary school teachers who had left the primary teaching profession.

3.3 Key Stakeholders/Primary Actors

To incorporate the views of all stakeholders, VSO undertook data collection with nine participant groups in refugee camps across all the regions. These included:

Participant group 1: Young girls aged 12-16 who are eligible to become incentive primary schoolteachers but who have not taken up this opportunity¹⁰⁴.

Participant group 2: Drop-out teachers/female teachers who have left the (primary) teaching profession

Participant group 3: Existing female primary teachers (both national and incentive teachers)

Participant group 4: Parents

Participant group 5: Camp leaders (including RCC leaders)

Participant group 6: Religious leaders

Participant group 7: Directors and Programme leads TTCs (Teacher Training Colleges)

Participant group 8: INGO / NGO Refugee Education specialists

Participant group 9: Governmental specialists, including ARRA representatives

3.4 Methodology: Data collection tools within a participatory research design

This situational needs assessment used a mixed-methods approach¹⁰⁵ combining qualitative and quantitative research methods in a particular way. Although the research primarily took a

¹⁰² Such as the Refugee Committee Council (RCC)

¹⁰³ Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. Thus, the sample group is said to grow like a rolling snowball. Taken from: Silverman, D. (2016) *Qualitative Research* (4th edn). London: SAGE.

¹⁰⁴ Consent was requested from all the participants for permission to use the information they provide.

Parents or guardians were requested to provide consent for interviewing children under the age of 18 years

¹⁰⁵ Mixed-methods research (MMR) is not new but has 'recently gained momentum' and is now spreading rapidly in social science.

participatory approach which, typically, favours qualitative research methods, quantitative data was required for programmatic reasons¹⁰⁶. To make the research design as accessible as possible – especially to harder-to-reach participant groups – the pros and cons of multiple data collection tools were carefully considered. Due to their embedded connections with participatory research¹⁰⁷, both semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) were selected as data collection methods for all participant groups. Meanwhile, it was decided to offer survey questionnaires (SQs) to some of the participant groups. Both the SQs and the key informant interviews (KIIs) for each research participant group were specifically designed to extract the same qualitative and quantitative data. Where possible, most participant groups were offered a choice as to how data was to be collected, i.e. which data collection tool the researchers used to extract data. For example, filling out a survey may have seemed less intrusive for some than doing a face-to-face interview or participating in a FGD. It is important to a participatory research design, and participatory research principles, that this option be there.¹⁰⁸

The following table illustrates the primary data collection tools available to each participant group in this situational needs assessment:

Participant group	KII schedule	FG schedule	Survey questionnaire
1. Young girls	X	✓	X
2. Drop-outs	✓	X	✓
3. Existing female teachers	✓	✓	✓
4. Parents	✓	✓	X
5. Religious leaders	✓	X	X
6. Camp leaders	✓	X	X
7. Teacher Training Colleges	✓	X	✓
8. (I)NGOs	✓	X	✓
9. ARRA	✓	X	✓

¹⁰⁶ As per the terms and conditions of the TOR.

¹⁰⁷ See Kumer & Urbanc (2020); cited in Nared, J. & Bole, D. (eds) *Participatory Research and Planning in Practice*. Springer: Open Access; pp.207-221.

¹⁰⁸ See Emden, C. & Smith, C. (2003) 'Non-Intrusive Research: Ideas and Guidelines for Expedient Thesis Completion.' *Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing*, **22**(1), 37-43.

FGDs were specifically chosen ‘because the needs and experiences of participants are valued more than a ‘tick in the box’’ and because the researchers saw ‘fundamental value’ in the inclusion of ‘participant’s voice’¹⁰⁹ FGDs schedules were designed for three participant groups: young girls, existing female teachers and parents/guardians to draw out the social, cultural, economic barriers impacting the female refugee community within the refugee camps. These tools included: body mapping, the problem tree and fishbone analysis. These research tools are widely endorsed and practised by VSO¹¹⁰. To determine how to overcome such barriers, the bridge model was also included in the FGD schedules¹¹¹.

The use of these carefully selected participatory research tools is one reason why this research was holistic and person-centred¹¹². This allowed for the voices and views of nine different participant groups in all the regions to be captured and represented in the findings and subsequent recommendations, thus setting it apart from previous research in the area.

The following table summarises the number of KIIs, FGDs and survey questionnaires undertaken at the 13 sampled refugee camps:

Study Region	Study Sites	Focus Group	Discussions	KIIs /	SQs	Total #
		Total # FGDs	Participant Groups	Total # KIIs/SQs	Participant Groups	Total # participants*
Tigray	Adi-Harush	4	1, 4	11	2, 5, 6, 8, 9	57
	Mai-Aini	4	1, 3, 4	7	5, 6, 8, 9	47
	Hitsats	4	1, 4	10	3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	56
Gambella	Kule	3	1, 4	5	5, 6, 9	29
	Jewi	5	1, 3, 4	5	5, 6, 8, 9	57
	Nygenyiel	4	1, 4	5	5, 6, 7, 8, 9	51
	Tierkidi	2	1, 4	8	3, 5, 6, 8, 9	28
	Awbarre	4	1, 4	7	5, 6, 8, 9	53

¹⁰⁹ <https://methods.sagepub.com/base/download/DatasetStudentGuide/thematic-analysis-mental-illness>, p.3

¹¹⁰ https://www.participatorymethods.org/sites/participatorymethods.org/files/VSO_Facilitator_Guide_to_Participatory_Approaches_Principles.pdf

¹¹¹ This research tool is also endorsed by VSO.

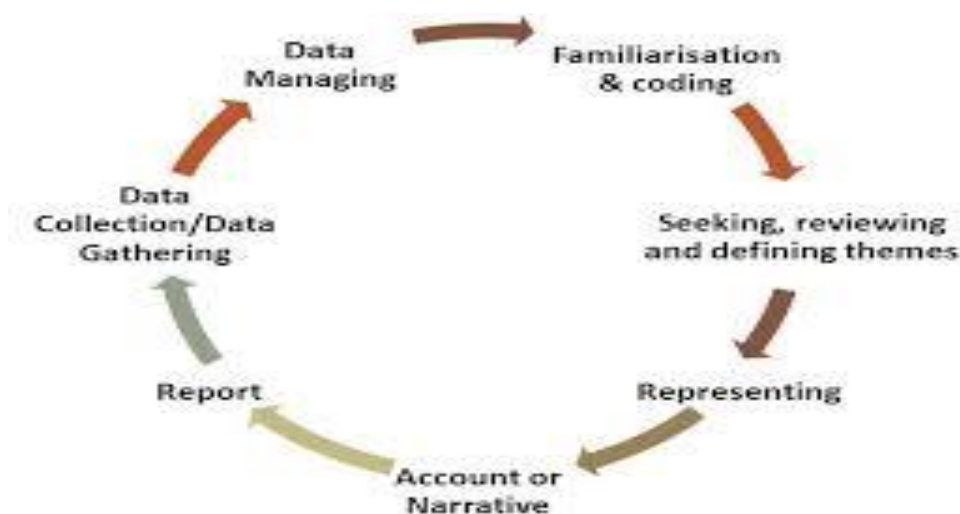
¹¹² *ibid*

Somali	Sheder	3	1, 4	8	2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9	42
	Kebribeyah	4	1, 4	10	2, 3, 5, 6, 8	56
Afar	Barahle	5	1, 3, 4	5	5, 6, 7, 8, 9	57
	Aysaita	4	1, 4	5	5, 6, 8, 9	52
Benshangul-Gumuz	Tsore	3	1, 4	6	3, 5, 6, 9	55
	Sherkole	4	1, 3, 4	5	5, 6, 8, 9	45
					TOTAL	685

* Some of these figures are based on averages, i.e. 12 young girls per FGD, 10 parents per FGD and 6 incentive teachers per FGD where the exact numbers were not available.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data was analysed using thematic analysis. This type of analysis is used to recognise key themes or patterns emerging from the data:



(Image taken from Braun & Clarke (2006))¹¹³

In his study thematic analysis is viewed as ‘a two-step process’, firstly involving first involves ‘identifying broad or key themes that are emerging from the data (‘coding’), and then offering deeper meanings about them (‘narrative’)’¹¹⁴.

¹¹³ Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) ‘Using thematic analysis in psychology.’ *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), pp.77-101.

¹¹⁴ <https://methods.sagepub.com/base/download/DatasetStudentGuide/thematic-analysis-mental-illness>, p.5

Thematic analysis also weights the role of the researcher in both collecting and analysing the data as both the participants and the researcher mutually transform each other in the collecting data process, with the researcher finally using their own interpretation of the core categories present throughout the focus groups and questionnaires to make sense of the participants' social world¹¹⁵.

Identifying core and sub-categories across all the data collected is essential to thematic analysis. The two international researchers together with their Ethiopian colleague analysed 149 documents. Using thematic analysis, key emerging core and sub-categories were identified in the data. These created key and sub-themes which were then woven into a narrative¹¹⁶ by the authors. Consistent with thematic analysis, 'this narrative logically [then] links the key and sub-themes, and makes clear and explicit to the reader why they are each important and how they are each related'¹¹⁷. Quotes that summarised the data relevant to each theme¹¹⁸ were selected and included so that 'an analytical 'story' emerged (ibid). This analysis then formed the basis of the findings (Parts A, B and C) and the subsequent recommendations of the study.

3.6 Limitations

The following are some of the main the limitations of this situational needs assessment:

3.6.1 Time scale and delays

This review was to be conducted over a three-month period. This was an underestimate of the time required for a number of reasons: (i) it took three weeks for the international researchers to obtain relevant VISAs to enter the refugee camps so the researchers did not enter the camps until half-way through the placement (ii) participatory and qualitative research projects typically require more time for analysis and write-up¹¹⁹ (iii) the global outbreak of Covid19 and the July 2020 protests / internet shutdown significantly delayed the data analysis and write-up processes.

3.6.2 Security

While the original process was to undertake this assessment the 26 refugee camps across the country¹²⁰, security concerns meant that it was not possible to gain permission from ARRA to access 13 of these camps. Thus, the views and opinions of participants in these camps could not be included.

¹¹⁵ Robson, C. (2011) *Real World Research* (3rd edn). London: John Wiley & Sons.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.8.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2017) *Research Methods in Education* (8th edn). London: Routledge.

¹²⁰ UNICEF/VSO Terms of Reference

When reading the conclusions and recommendations of this report, it is important to keep this in mind.

3.6.3 Language

A third limitation of this research is language differences. While some of the participants spoke English, more spoke in the local dialect – especially young girls, parents and religious leaders. While translators were available in the camps most of the time, it is inevitable that some meaning and nuances were lost in translation. In addition, the translation of transcripts from Amharic to English may have further compounded this limitation.

3.6.4 The social desirability effect

A fourth limitation of the research is the social desirability effect. This can be defined as:

...the tendency of some respondents to report an answer in a way they deem to be more socially acceptable than would be their "true" answer...to project a favorable image of themselves and to avoid receiving negative evaluations. ...Social desirability is classified as one of the respondent-related sources of error (bias)¹²¹

This desirability effect is an unavoidable limitation within which most research is conducted. For example, in this case, some ARRA officials and camp leaders may feel obliged to portray their particular refugee camps in a positive light.

3.6.5 Little documentation on the incentive teaching initiatives

One of the main aims of this situational needs assessment was to understand the factors limiting the participation of potential female teachers in ‘available teacher training initiatives’¹²². However, a review of secondary data revealed very little detail on these initiatives and we were unable to locate any project overview documents in relation to the initiatives in the refugee camps or TTCs.

¹²¹ Lavrakas, 2008 Available at: <http://methods.sagepub.com>

¹²² VSO/UNICEF TOR

4 Findings and Discussion

Part A of Findings – External Barriers

This chapter presents the key themes and analysis relating to the external barriers for female refugees in Ethiopia to incentive teaching and training initiatives. These barriers relate to the lived experience of the female refugee community and the particular gender specific vulnerabilities they face.¹²³

For women and young girls, the intersectionality of refugee status, abject poverty, and negative socio cultural norms perpetuating gender inequality, time poverty¹²⁴, gender based violence and early forced marriage add to the fragility of the refugee context, making every day a struggle to survive.

Unpacking this is a sine qua non to inform holistic programmatic planning so as teacher training initiatives both fit the particular context of refugee life and are attractive to the women and girls who inhabit that space.

4.1 Fragile context

Life as a refugee can be difficult to imagine. But, for 25.9 million people around the world, it is a terrifying reality¹²⁵.

The extreme fragility of the refugee context has been underscored, as never before, with the recent onset of Covid-19. In March 2020, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) secretariat circulated its interim guidance¹²⁶ on scaling up Covid-19 readiness in humanitarian settings, such as refugee camps. In the briefing document, the refugee context was backgrounded as follows:

‘People affected by humanitarian crises, particularly those displaced and/or living in camps and camp-like settings, are often faced with specific challenges and vulnerabilities...their legal status and their living and accommodation arrangements may be inhibiting factors to their full enjoyment of their

¹²³ While it is very important to recognise that male refugees also face gender specific vulnerabilities, including, for example, ‘recruitment into armed forces, early workforce exploitation, higher malnutrition levels in some age groups, and the impact of being brought up to adopt negative masculine stereotypes – for example, the acceptance of male violence as a method of control’(<https://www.unicef.org/esa/gender-equality>), the terms of reference for this situational needs assessment refer, specifically, to the gender specific vulnerabilities of female refugees

¹²⁴ The discourse on time poverty centres on the fact that ‘Women’s time does not belong to them. It is well known that patriarchal systems still prevail in many regions of the world, including Africa, and that these have defined and perpetuated gender roles that allow men to control women’s time and labor. In most African societies, women and girls are allocated critically important and time-consuming responsibilities, which overburden them with work in the reproduction, production, household, and community spheres’ (Abdourahman, 2010:17)

¹²⁵ <https://www.unhcr.org/en-ie/refugees.html>

¹²⁶ This guide was developed in alignment with the WHO COVID-19 Strategic Preparedness and Response Plan

rights.... They are frequently neglected, stigmatized, and may face difficulties in accessing health services that are otherwise available to the general population...'¹²⁷.

Ethiopia's refugee context is no different; most of the 26 refugee camps have limited services and opportunities, and refugees depend largely on humanitarian assistance.¹²⁸ However, while humanitarian shelter and basic food rations may be provided, ¹²⁹refugee camps can be desolate and inhospitable places to live, especially if you happen to be female.

The following are some of the findings of this situational needs assessment in relation to the realities of camp life for the female refugee community in Ethiopia. The analysis exposes the fragility of the context which female refugees inhabit and the ways in which that context both shapes and constrains their life/life chances:

'We live in crisis' (Young girls, Afar)

Refugee life is very desperate for all but very worse for young girls' (NGO worker, Afar)

'It is the worst place for women to live: no security, no justice, labouring the whole day without rest, no respect and glory, every burden is left for the women' (Young girls, Gambella).

'... the culture of the society is highly affecting females. It forces them to do all the house works and left men free. Someone has to do something to help these women. ...Young girls are helpless in the camp' [Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella].

In focus group discussions, young girls spoke about their lives in camp in very negative terms:

'...They are culturally, economically and socially affected part of the society. Girls are also exposed to every attack, they can't even protect themselves from danger, and they are helpless...' [Interview notes, young girls, Gambella], '...the life of a young girl in the refugee camp is very bad, because the girl is busy the whole day: she has no time to play with her friends, entertain herself or even to go to school. Many other respondents corroborated this: '...you know, girls are... their lives are... not ok... For many reasons...' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), '...when I observe the life of young girls it's very difficult' (ARRA official, Gambella).

Poverty, hunger, water scarcity/lack of WASH facilities trauma and entrenched gender inequalities, including gender based violence and early forced marriage, further exacerbates the fragile context

¹²⁷ Ibid, p.2.

¹²⁸ <https://www.unhcr.org/en-ie/ethiopia.html>

¹²⁹ In the analysis to follow, many participant groups stated that the rations provided were often insufficient and frequently arrived late

young female refugees live in, leading some young girls to describe their life as a ‘sad’ and ‘miserable life’ (Young girls, Gambella). For girls in Afar, this ‘difficult life’ was a source of shame: ‘We live in disgust because our lives are disgusting’ (Young girls, Afar).

Poignantly, suicide was not uncommon for girls who live in the refugee camp. (Young girls, Gambella). Girls stated ‘The road leads her to no good place, most likely this roads end is death’ (Young girls, Somali), ‘we lose hope on our future’ (Young girls, Afar), while the young girls in Tigray reported concern for ‘...friends who want to do suicide on them due to hard life in the refugee camp’.

An NGO worker issued a stark warning: ‘their desperation will end up in suicide’ (NGO worker, Tigray).

4.1.1 Legacy Issues

Within these bleak and often difficult environments, psychosocial problems flourish. These are often compounded by refugees’ [varied] experiences of displacement. Across the globe, more than 65.6 million people have been forcibly displaced¹³⁰ as a result of persecution, conflict, violence or human rights violations¹³¹. This situational analysis revealed a number of psychosocial issues and challenges impacting the lives of female refugees¹³² in Ethiopia:

‘All the young girls here are hurt’ (Religious Leader, Afar).

‘They have all ran from the war’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Fleeing from one’s country of origin is often very traumatic for refugees. Yet it is part of the story of so many refugees across Ethiopia.¹³³ A harrowing account of this journey to safety was given by one camp leader in Tigray who recounted that:

‘The difficulty life of migrants started when they plan to cross the border from the origin of home country i.e. Eritrea. The problem extent was aggravated on migrant young girls. It’s due to the difficulty to cross the militarized border, the smugglers impact, the long distance covered till arrival of the refugee camp, and the unexpected life conditions in the refugee camp. The

¹³⁰ <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/forced-displacement-worldwide-at-its-highest-in-decades/>

¹³¹ <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/statistics/>

¹³² It is important to recognise that male refugees also face psycho social challenges as a consequence of displacement

¹³³ Once again, the heterogeneity of the refugee experience is recognised here as is the reality that refugees flee different areas for different reasons. Just as there is no one ‘refugee’ archetype, neither is there any one archetypal cause of refugees’ displacement.

level of information to cross the border is depending on the smugglers willingness to share at a time of deals with the migrants. The information asymmetry helps them to abuse young girl's migrants in the middle of the desert when the migrants trapped in nowhere to run and escape. The smugglers threaten the young girls to pay additional money over the deals, physically attack, and harass sexually (including rape). Such abuse holds secretly without any evidence' (Camp leader, Tigray)¹³⁴.

As a result of this trauma, the young girls were left 'stressed and psychologically depressed. They feel aloneness and take action on their life' (ibid.).

This anxiety and trauma is heightened in refugee contexts as displaced peoples try to navigate 'foreign' systems, while often having to deal with the psychological effects of homesickness and exile. Some girls alluded to the desire to return to their homeland: 'She want tyo retura [sic] to her country south Sudan' (Young girls, Gambella), while young girls in Benishangul-Gumuz spoke of: 'going to her country of origin... re-starting her life there' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz). Indeed, 'displacement¹³⁵ and dis connection' was mentioned by one teacher in Gambella as one of the challenges in the refugee camp.

ARRA officials were well aware of the impact of displacement on the refugee population in their camps: '... The community is displaced [they do] not live in the country so [they are] having more challenges...' (ARRA official, Gambella).

Others experienced separation anxiety and fear for relatives and loved ones left behind: 'She is 'separated from her family who died because of the war in South Sudan' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), 'She is sad because her country is in a war and she knows her relatives who were not able to reach to Ethiopia are suffering out there' (Young girls, Gambella), 'She is missing her family back in her country ...' (Young girls, Tigray). 'She is separated from her families...She is missing her families back home or abroad' (Young girls, Somali). Moreover, like so many refugees, these girls have 'experience[d] loss' (Female incentive teacher, Gambella).

All of this can result in stress, depression and sometimes addiction (chat and cigarettes) (Field notes, Tigray).

¹³⁴ A similar account of a refugee in Jewi by USAID records how one refugee [Nyantau Machoch] and her six children fled their home in war-torn South Sudan. It describes how they had 'to travel through the bush on foot from their home in war-torn South Sudan, as gunshots rang out around them. They survived on leaves and wild fruits...Whole neighbourhoods were travelling to Ethiopia to save their lives. I have seen people dying at gunpoint on the way (<https://medium.com/@USAIDFFP/south-sudan-refugees-144f205de94b>)

¹³⁵ Some young girls asserted: 'She is sad because she is out of her country and living in a country which doesn't belong to her' (Young girls, Gambella)

Implications

The psychological impact of the above should not be underestimated. Discussions across participant groups highlighted that, without psychosocial support, female refugees were at particular risk of poor mental health and even suicidal ideation. Moreover, if their psychosocial wellbeing is compromised by the trauma of displacement, their ability to both learn and teach will also be curbed.

4.1.2 Lack of security

Another aspect of the fragility of the refugee context was a generalised sense of lack of personal security in the refugee camps. This was cited by a number of respondents as a factor that makes life daunting for the female refugee community, in particular:

‘...a young girl who lives in the refugee camp is targeted to every natural and man-made problems and attacks.Girls are also exposed to every attack, they can’t even protect themselves from danger, and they are helpless’ (Interview Notes, Young girls, Gambella).

‘Life is generally hard for a young girl in a refugee camp... for there is less security’ (Religious Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Girls, themselves, reported not feeling secure in the camp. At any given time, a girl walking on her own may be subject to attack/abuse: ‘She can see gender abuse from men’ (Young girls, Somali), ‘Nyagoo can’t walk alone though the streets, girls are not safe in the camp (Young girls, Gambella), ‘While walking in the camp peoples have no respect for her some insult her or others trick her’ (Young girls, Somali). Young girls in Afar cited the need for more protection from rapists in the camp: ‘There have [sic] to be security around the camp like police...To protect us from rapists’ (Young girls, Afar).

Walking alone was often seen as foolhardy for a female: ‘When she walk in the camp [sic] the community gives bad name as she is a stupid girl’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Fear was a recurring theme across many focus groups, as girls revealed: ‘...young girls have always fear in their heart because the camp in general is not save [sic] place for them’ (Interview Notes, Young girls, Gambella). ‘...women live in fear every day and night’, ‘...young girls have always fear in their heart because the camp in general is not save [sic] place for them’ (Young girls, Gambella).

This fear seems to be underpinned by reportedly high levels of aggression, from the home to the street. Young girls stated that: ‘She can see kids fighting each other at school’, ‘She hears her parents arguing about something’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘We see someone fighting’...Men hit her’ (Young Girls, Afar). Interpersonal violence is also commonplace: ‘She can hear about conflict’ (Young girls,

Gambella), 'She can see students fighting each other at school' (Young girls, Gambella). Interestingly, in two FGDs the girls stated 'we see women hitting men' (Young Girls, Afar).

In some regions, there were occasional tensions between the refugees and the host community,¹³⁶ whereby certain members of the latter reportedly attacked 'the refugees for no reason' (Interview Notes, Young girls, Gambella).

There were even some reports of kidnapping:

'Also, people will come illegally from South Sudan. They will come to the camps, and take the daughters. They do it illegally. Sometimes we get information, as refugee leaders, that there are sometimes people who come from South Sudan and they will take either their or someone else's daughter, who are already at school, to go back to South Sudan.' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Robbery and theft was also commonplace in camp: '...there are thieves here' (Young Girls, Afar), '...at evening and early morning she may not comfortable because, she may attacked by thefts [sic]', 'Sometimes the thief come[s] into home and attack you because of this I am not happy...' (Young girls, Gambella). These thieves can sometimes come at night:

'She explained that even their house is not save [sic] place for women because there are group of robbers who come in the night and enter in to houses to take properties and rape females' (Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella), '....there are group of robbers who are addicted in drugs like tobacco and alcohol, they come in the mid night take properties and rape girls According to them no one knows their identity, where they come from or who they are. So women live in fear every day and night' (Young girls, Gambella).

'After dark' was an especially difficult and dangerous time for women and girls in refugee camp settings, as highlighted by UNCHR¹³⁷ and Ethiopia is no exception: 'When she walk in this refugee camp at evening after 6pm she will not [be] comfortable because boys may attack her' (Young girls, Gambella), 'She might be afraid to come out of her house and walk around in the evening; there are men who sexually abuse if they find girls walking alone' (Young girls, Tigray), 'She can see a girl taking a walk by the evening and being harassed verbally or physically by men' (Young girls, Somali).

It is regarded 'culturally' inappropriate or 'impolite' for a girl to walk alone at night or at evening time: '...culturally women will not walking at the evening', 'The community gives her bad name

¹³⁶ Relations with the host community were not uniform and varied from camp to camp

¹³⁷ <https://www.unhcr.org/brighterlives/>

when she is walking in the evening as she is an impolite girl' (Young girls, Gambella), 'Parents tell [ing] her not to go out in the evenings' (Young girls, Tigray).

This has implications for their education too, as female refugees may be reluctant to engage in any educational activity, such as going to the library at night, for fear of attack: '...when they [girls] go to library at night to read they [are]...also exposed to sexual assault by the men on the road' (Parent, Gambella).

Implications

This lack of security whereby travel to/from school can be dangerous for women and girls poses a barrier to female refugees' participation in education, either as students or teachers: 'it's less safe for women to walk to the primary schools in the camps' (ARRA official, Benishangul Gumuz). A number of the young girls interviewed explained that their houses were a considerable distance from the primary school and they were even in danger of 'quitting school because there is a transportation problem in the camp' (Young girl, Afar). Indeed, the issue of safety was cited by an existing teacher as a challenge for both students and teachers in camp (Female incentive teacher, Gambella).

Aggression also sometimes seeped into the classroom: '...teacher advises her not to fight with her friends. This happens when she start[s] to attack her classmates in school'... '...she can see boys fighting in a class room' 'Sometimes she heard quarrel of students ...' (Young girls, Gambella).

4.1.3 Unaccompanied minors

Female unaccompanied minors are symbolic of the fragility of the refugee context. The intersectionality of refugee status, being alone, poverty, gender, age etc. serves to make them a very vulnerable cohort in refugee camps:

'...if she has no parents her life is very bad...' ; '... some parents go back to Sudan and their daughters stay in the camp, face many problems' (Young girls, Gambella), 'Most of girls their fathers not here in Ethiopia so most of them they have not supports' ...(Religious leader, Gambella).

Young girls in Tigray summarised what life is like for such girls:

'If Eden is living without her family (They call it in the underage camp; it includes Zone A and some part of Zone E); life for Eden is difficult and she will not have any guidance. No one follows her up and she is free to do what she desires like smoking cigarette, drinking alcohol and also having sex at her young age... Most of them says they are going to school to their

dean [sic] but they actually doesn't attend and no one will care and follow up as well' (Young girls, Tigray).

According to one camp leader in Tigray, these girls were often clustered together in designated accommodation:

'There are young girls who are living in a group of 10 and more ...within the community care housing in the camp. But, there is huge gap in understanding each other and they are not transparent to talk and share their ideas because they come from different culture and there are also people who come from rural and urban areas. They are even hiding themselves during their menstruation, they don't tell their roommates' (Camp leader, Tigray).

Without family support/guidance they often have to negotiate the harsh conditions on their own. For other young accompanied female minors, marriage may be their only option for survival: '...the majority of females are separated from their home...they live with relatives ...the majority need to do marriage...' (ARRA official, Gambella).

Housework placed additional physical and time constraints on unaccompanied minors, limiting their participation in other activities, including education: 'Since Nyaguok live alone she has burden of home activities' (Young girls, Gambella).

There were also allegations of sexual abuse of some of these girls in one region.

They are also at risk of psychological distress as a result of the lack of support structures: 'Majorities of them are under psychologically stressed condition' (NGO worker, Tigray). Many participants recognised the vulnerability of these young accompanied refugee girls: 'There are significant numbers of young girls who are unaccompanied and this makes life worse for them, they feel helpless and become hopeless' (Camp leader, Tigray), 'Most of girls become hopeless and carelessness' (Religious leader, Somali).

Unaccompanied minors faced additional barriers to education. These include lack of learning materials/uniform, early marriage, lack of encouragement and support as well as time poverty:

'Some children, they haven't parents so can't afford to pay school materials due to poverty' (Religious leader, Gambella), 'Young girls unaccompanied tend to drop-out of school easily because they don't have parents for supporting and encouragement' (ARRA official, Gambella), '...some children can't go to school because: 'they are orphan and no parent cares and follow[sic] them up' (Parents, Benishangul-Gumuz). Some unaccompanied minors drop out of school just to sustain a level of survival: '...if they are unaccompanied they prefer to take care of their life than to go to school' (ARRA official, Gambella), 'As a result, these young

girls are less attracted or interested to the education. They don't have vision and aspiration to be changed in the future. In most of the cases, they lost hope and not motivated to upgrade themselves' (NGO worker, Tigray).

Implications

Low socioeconomic status, lack of family and community support structures, and particularly in the case of unaccompanied girls, time poverty and the burden of household responsibilities are among the factors that make unaccompanied minors a particularly vulnerable group in refugee camps.

Consequently, they are at particular risk of both physical and mental health difficulties and thus are in particular need of psychosocial supports, so as to be engaged in education.

4.1.4 Disabled people

Although disabled people were visible in every refugee camp, there were few services available for them. In one FGD, young girls expressed sorrow at not being able to help them: 'She feels sad when she saw people with disability and she couldn't help them' (Young girls, Gambella). One teacher alluded to 'the exclusion of children with disability' (Female teacher, Gambella). According to one respondent, 'there is no provision for students with special educational needs. This can cause them to drop out' (Religious leader, Gambella).

According to young girls in Tigray, their disability may be a barrier to participation in incentive teaching/training initiatives: 'if females are disabled they become shy and not want to be a teacher'.

Implications

This raises serious issues around social inclusion in camp, and in education, more broadly. Moreover, teachers will need to be trained in socially inclusive education to improve this situation and to ensure that no child gets left behind.

4.2 Poverty

Poverty further compounds the fragile context that refugees inhabit. For refugee women and girls, the situation is even more acute: 'they have no property' ...they have no land of their own': 'They have no money' (Religious Leader, Afar). Young Girls in Gambella and Afar described the impact of poverty on their lives in terms of lack of resources:

‘...we have a hard time because we have no money ‘she has no shoes’... ‘Her family has no money’... (Young girls, Afar), ‘The substandard quality of food makes her feel in uncomfortable’, ‘She is not happy because she have [sic] no money to buy her clothes’, ‘She doesn’t feel comfortable walking to school in her bare foot’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Other respondents confirmed the impact of poverty on the lives of young girls: ‘There is nothing to eat...They have nothing to wear’, ‘...the problem is their parents have empty hand to support them necessary materials like clothes, shoes ...etc. (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘WFP [world Food Programme] give 5kg food and 150 birr per month per person so not enough’ (Parents, Afar).

4.2.1 Child labour

In the absence of a cash economy, female refugees often had to resort to selling food rations to generate cash to purchase basic items, including soap and sanitary towels: ‘They have no cash in camp...only rations..... They will sell their food to get cash...’(ARRA official, Gambella). Girls also generate cash by collecting and selling firewood: ‘....they are economically poor, they try to sell fire wood but still this will not suffice their need’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

In Benishangul-Gumuz, parents alluded to child labour as a way of means of generating money for poor households: ‘... [because of hunger] it is common to see children in the market places and in the host community while they are working as daily labourer like loading and unloading’, ‘...parents become tired of advising their children not to go to host communities to do labour works but, they keep working due to the existing problems’(Parents, Benishangul-Gumuz). This was confirmed by a camp leader: ‘the young girls are engaging themselves in labour work to help them, help their family at work.’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). Meanwhile in Somali, parents claimed that ‘when a girl completes here primary education, poor families give their child to a well to do family to earn money’ (Parents, Somali).

According to some respondents, in the absence of alternatives, female refugees may even have to resort to selling sex as a survival strategy:

‘...sometimes the girls go to a local man... for money. For basic things... And they will agree on payment... Which can lead to pregnancy. But what else can they do?’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘the other reason [girls drop-out of school] is becoming commercial sex worker due to poverty and peer influence’ (ARRA official, Benshangul Gumuz).

In Tigray, one female teacher revealed that transactional sex was often used to procure essential items:

‘There are also economic problems. When the girls do not have any money they can get involved in different things. They get involved with boys to be able to get money to buy things for themselves. Like sanitary products, make-up and clothes. They exchange sex for these products’ (Female teacher, Tigray).

One respondent claimed that he saw ‘refugee guard’s exchanges food and money for sex with young girls and women (Anon).

Unaccompanied minors are at particular risk of sexual exploitation: ‘...because most of girls are under aged young girls who live without there [sic] family. For the reason, most girls engaged in sexual exploiting because of food scare, economic situation, luck [sic] of awareness’ (Religious leader, Tigray).

Implications

Poverty is a major barrier to education. One of the main reasons young girls drop out of schooling is that they need to generate much needed income for themselves and their families: ‘[Girls] Prefer alternative income generation mechanism rather than education’, ‘[there is] poor attendance due to livelihood opportunities in camp’ (ARRA official, Gambella)

Living in poverty meant that many parents simply could not afford the costs of educating their daughters: ‘Most parents cannot send students due to poverty (lack of food)’ (Female incentive teacher, Gambella). Due to the absolute poverty endured by female refugees, in particular, many are simply not in a position to afford to pursue their education. Lack of basic materials also made it difficult for young girls to attend school: ‘She doesn’t feel comfortable walking to school in her bare foot’ (Young girl, Gambella).

There were many calls across participant groups for schools to provide basic necessities – including school uniforms and shoes – for young girls since these are not provided for in the school: ‘Children don’t get bags and other school materials from the school.’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘She feels sad because the school doesn’t provide uniform and shoes to students’ (Young girls, Gambella).

4.2.2 Hunger

Hunger and food scarcity are two of the biggest challenges in refugee contexts where refugees are dependent on food rations for survival. However, many participants reported that these rations are often late and there is not enough for families, leading to hunger:

‘The monthly food rations is [sic] also not enough. One person receives 8.5kg of cereals. When you calculate this with 31 days in a month, it is not enough’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘They only receive food...humanitarian aid and even that has been reduced...so item reduction affects the life of girls in the camp’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

One researcher recorded the following reflection during fieldwork:

‘According to our observation the amount of rashin [sic] the refugees get is only 15kg of flour and few litres of edible oil for a person for a month: on top of that most of the rashin [sic] is sold by the parents to buy other equipment’s which pushes the people to have a meal only once or twice in a day: most of the children we have seen are malnourished’ (Interviewer notes, Young girls, Gambella).

The reality is that many children in refugee camps live with ‘hunger and poor nutrition’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Indeed, this ‘lack of food’ was cited as one of the main reasons life is ‘very difficult’ for young girls in this camp (Camp leader, Gambella). Outside and within camps, women and young girls could be seen queuing endlessly, waiting for rations on ‘food distribution days’. This humanitarian aid was frequently delayed: ‘...there is also delay of food distribution at the camp which may lead the kids to hunger and make them not to enjoy the school...delay of food distribution which will lead to shortage of food at home’ (Parents, Benishangul-Gumuz), In FGDs, hunger was overwhelmingly mentioned as something which made girls in camp feel sad:

‘She is not happy because ...her family had not anything for consumption rather than ration card and the ration is not enough for the family member hence she may hungry because of this she feel sad’, ‘The substandard quality of food makes her feel uncomfortable’, ‘She is sad because she is not getting enough food which makes her strong...’ She may be happy when she will not feel hungry’ (Young girls, Gambella) , ‘[She is sad] ‘when the aid is late’ (Young girls, Afar) .

Implications

Hunger was both a barrier to learning and a barrier to teaching ‘...Students [are] poorly motivated because they came to school without food’ (Female incentive teacher, Gambella). As a result, they may not go to school as they have ‘no energy’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz) and can feel faint. In addition, female students are frequently absent on food distribution days, as they are often the ones in charge of collecting rations: ‘as you can see all are refugees...especially on market day (the day of food distribution, they are absent....absence is a big problem, especially for girls....’ (Drop-out teacher, Afar).

A substantial number of parents could not send their children to school due to lack of food: '[our] children don't enjoy going to school because when they get back home they don't get food so, when they repeatedly face such kind problem they don't like to go school' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). A parent in the same FGD was more blunt: 'Most parent advice [sic] their children to be patient but, children will not tolerate hunger and rather miss schools when they look for food in the host community' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). Indeed, another parent from the same region commented: 'children can't properly see what is written on the blackboard, if they don't eat' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Hunger was also cited as a challenge facing incentive teachers: 'They came to school without breakfast so they aren't happy and motivated' (Female incentive teacher, Gambella). A male incentive teacher in Afar also recounted having to come to school on 'an empty stomach'. One of the reasons proffered for this is that they cannot afford breakfast on their incentive salary and go to class hungry: 'Not enough salary for incentive teachers so those are very challenging because the salary is 805 birr only so not full fill the need for live and the teachers are not eating breakfast'(Camp leader, Gambella).

This is a pressing issue, as other findings also confirmed that the present incentive payment doesn't even cover teachers' most basic needs. This is discussed further in Part B.

4.2.3 Water insecurity

Water scarcity and the availability of clean drinking water were also identified as challenges in many of the camps where refugees 'lack access to clean drinking water. (Camp leader, Gambella): 'The water we drink is of poor quality' (Young girls, Afar). Young girls were frequently in charge of fetching water for the household. If water is available in camp, girls and women will arrive with their jerry cans...and wait: 'Sometimes, if water in camp, they will have to queue...We hear you drop in a queue to draw water' (Young Girls, Afar).

However, since most of the time water is not available in the camp, girls had no choice but to travel long distances to get water for the household: '[Girls are] fetching of water from very far place if the water tap broken' (Religious leader, Afar). Young girls described what this is like: 'Nyaluak will always weak [sic] early in the morning and fetch water from pool', '...girls travel a long distance to get water: they carry heavy and big water jars and hurt themselves' (Young girls, Gambella). The perils of such a journey and its impact on time poverty are elaborated further, below.

Implications

Water insecurity was a particular challenge for schools in the refugee camps. Not only is this a disincentive to go to school, it is an impediment to learning in camps, especially in camps where temperatures can reach oppressive levels¹³⁸ : ‘The weather condition is very hot and students drink hot water so not satisfy... [they] not have water in school’ (Parents, Afar)¹³⁹. This impact of water shortage on learning and teaching will be elaborated further in Part B.

4.2.4 Adverse weather conditions

This fragile context is further perpetuated by the ‘harsh climate’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella), particularly in the Gambella and Afar regions where extreme heat poses another challenge to both teaching and learning in refugee camps with small overcrowded classrooms¹⁴⁰. Girls complained that the adverse weather conditions that were not conducive to study:

‘The sun burns her...’ (Young girls, Afar), ‘She is not happy because while she came to school the weather condition is it too much hot and on the other time when the rain is raining she has no anything to protect her Exercise book from rain’ (Young girls, Gambella). Young girls in Afar also reported that they are ‘not happy’ walking to school as ‘the weather condition is much too hot’ and they have no umbrellas to protect them from these extremes. This is also the case in the rainy season (Young girls, Gambella and Afar).

It can cause the girls to drop out of school: ‘The weather condition is very hot and harsh that it can force girls to drop-out of school’ (Religious leader, Tigray).

4.3 Gender Inequality

‘The society don’t [sic] see girls with boys in equal eye’ (Young girls, Afar).

‘[Female refugees] life is full of influence from their husbands, the community and from the burden of life’ (Camp leader, Tigray).

Deep-rooted and entrenched gender inequality was the prevailing reality for many women and girls across most of Ethiopia’s refugee contexts: ‘If you look in this community the people don’t believe in

¹³⁸ During fieldwork in the Gambella region, the temperature reached more than 33 degrees and we were told it can go much higher.

¹³⁹ Our researchers were frequently asked for water when interviewing students in the schools.

¹⁴⁰ Indeed, during this study, the heat proved to be formidable for both young girls and interviewers during focus group discussions in a classroom in Gambella: ‘At the end of the discussion we can’t resist the high temperature and all the young girls were much tired and some of them want to sleep’ [Interview Notes, Young girls, Gambella].

women's and men's equality' (NGO worker, Somali), 'Women and men are not equal...boys and girls are not equal...' (Young girls, Gambella), 'There is no equality' (Young girls, Afar). Patriarchy and negative socio-cultural norms (both from their home country and within the camps¹⁴¹) around women's inferiority to men meant that male dominance was ubiquitous across all camps:

'Men are dominating women. Men have to be men – strong' (NGO worker, Somali), '...here, they are not educated. They are still under male dominance. Men only have a say. Women... no' (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), 'Many are under the influence of culture... The Nuar ... Women must respect their men...', 'Life of young girls in the camp is dominated by men' (Religious leader, Gambella), One ARRA official explained gender inequity as the manifestation of 'back ward cultural [sic] related to gender issues' (ARRA official, Gambella).

In other camps, too, gender scripts were underpinned by powerful cultural norms that value men more than women: '...the culture that ...says men's [sic] are always superior' (Parent, Gambella), 'They do have low moral value to be equal as men' (ARRA official, Gambella) 'They are there only to support the males ...' (NGO worker, Gambella), 'The community will believe that females are not equal knowledge with male' 'In the society boys are favoured and given priority than girls' (Religious leader, Gambella), 'The community is favouring only for boys' (Young girls, Tigray).

This gender script only further perpetuates power inequalities.

4.3.1 Lack of decision-making power

Gender inequality further manifests itself in decision making in the following areas, each of which has implications for education:

A Lack of decision-making power in the home

'...and the men are dominant in the home. So, the women have no say. ...If they want to do some business in the market or anywhere else, men will not accept that. They will say: 'You are my wife and you have to stay at home. I will bring you what you want.' This affects women directly...' (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

At the household level, women and girls often have little or no decision-making power. Men are dominant and thus are the ones who make all decisions:

¹⁴¹ One respondent referred to 'the culture in the Refugees community' (ARRA official, Gambella). Although many refugees are influenced by socio cultural norms from their home country, more research is needed on whether or not individual camps have a particular sub culture which may be a more nuanced version of the parent culture.

‘Women are not decision-makers in the home. If they are decision-maker, they can decide for themselves what is good for them. But, most of the time, the decision is taken by men and whether the women like it or not, they have to agree. That is one thing’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘All decisions are under the power of men...’ (Young girls, Gambella).

One of the drivers for this is the dowry system whereby, on marriage, the young girl becomes the commodity of her new husband:

‘They are highly influenced by their husband, since their husband marry [sic] them paying dowry for her parents, he thinks like he is possessing an asset and he even physically attacks her’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

A married girl cannot make decisions for herself: it will be her husband who will decide everything: ‘...the men are dominant in the home...’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...the economy of the house is all under the control of the husband...’ (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘Her husband is the decision maker’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘Always there is problem at the household because if women are allowed to talk freely and take their position, there would be no problem’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Another driver for this is that very often young girls are forced to marry a much older man: ‘Family favouring the rich or old man to marry her’ (Young girls, Somali), ‘the girls...often marry an older man’ (Religious leaders, Afar). Young girls in Somali referred to ‘family favouring the rich or old man to marry her’. This has implications for decision making as: ‘the often wide age and power differentials between brides and husbands undermine the agency and autonomy of girls and young women’.¹⁴²

Moreover, as a result of acute power inequalities between a young girl and an older adult man, child brides are frequently unable to navigate their sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) and control their fertility.

Implications

¹⁴²Flavia Pansieri, Deputy UN high Commissioner for Human Rights in <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Childandforcedmarriagemanifestationofgenderdiscrimination.aspx>

Crucially, this female refugees' lack of decision making capacity also includes decisions around education. Women and girls are often simply not free to make the 'choice' to study, to train or to teach:

'...most women here have no decision-making... they can't make decisions. I have seen and experienced this. If you need them to go to training in a city for 2 weeks or a few days, sometimes the family... and the husbands... complain a lot. Why would my wife go there? She can't live there! All these things....' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), '...they are not going to school by forced of their husband' (Religious leader, Gambella), 'If she wants to learn may be her husband will harass her' (Young girls, Gambella), 'Because of their husbands not educated they don't want to send their wife to school' (Religious leader, Gambella), 'They have families – they have many children and their husband does not allow them to be in the school ever again. We don't understand why', 'the woman must stay in the home. The husband says 'Don't go to school because there are more challenges in the home. There is no food, no clothes and no shoes.' She can't leave the house because she doesn't have food, clothes or shoes....That is the main problem' (Teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Decisions around uptake of incentive teaching too, are often in the hands of her husband: 'Her husband may not agree to attend his wife on incentive teaching program because her husband is the one who make a decision' (Young girls, Gambella), 'Husbands restrict females for incentive teacher' (Young girls, Afar).

This will be discussed further in Part B.

B Lack of decision making power in the public sphere

'...young girls experience gender inequality which makes them to be isolated' (Religious leader, Gambella).

Gender inequality acts as a barrier to female refugees' participation in the public domain:

'In general, the Somali's community does not encourage females to become a public figure' (Religious leader, Somali), 'Women don't participate in public...' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), 'Females don't expect to make economic contribution in the refugee camp' (ARRA official, Somali).

Girls internalised this socio-cultural script from an early age:

'They don't like to compete with the men' (Religious Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), 'Their social interaction is very limited because they mostly stay home' (ARRA official, Gambella),

‘Young girls are shy and afraid to socialise’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘They lack to express themselves in front of the public’ (TEC lead, Somali).

In FGDs, the young girls acknowledged their fear of entering male spaces: [there is] ‘low self-confidence among women’, ‘...we are scared to go to places domited [sic] by men...’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Gender inequality manifested itself in the lack of community support for females in camp: ‘...society attitude towards women’s is so low’ (TEC lead, Somali), ‘There is no one to help them in the camp... The community does not support them with ideas...they cannot not solve their problems...the community doesn’t help them.....there is no one to help’ (Religious leader, Afar), ‘...the community they haven’t trend to support young girls’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘ [There is] discouragement of refugee girls by community to accomplish their future’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘The young girls here want to embrace the culture, but the community doesn’t support them. They urge women not to use their cultural rights’ (Religious leader, Afar). Neither does the culture encourage them into the public sphere of paid work: ‘The culture do[es] not encourage women to have jobs’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Reflecting deep-seated gender inequality, one respondent suggested that the reason for this was simply because they were ‘female’ (Religious Leader, Afar). Gender inequality results in differential treatment of boys and girls: ‘Parents treat girls differently. In a big way’ (NGO worker, Somali), ‘Girls are not getting much emphasis as their importance for a family’ (ARRA official, Afar).

Another manifestation of entrenched gender inequality and male domination was that female refugees tended not to be politically active at camp level. There were a few exceptions. Young girls in Somali referred to a ‘Women’s Association’, while in Tigray a religious leader mentioned ‘an organized group of females’ (Religious leader, Tigray). In the same region, young girls refer to ‘[walking to] the women’s association in the camp’ (Young girls, Tigray). This seems to suggest that in some camps women have organised themselves into groups. However, in other areas, such as Afar, this did not seem to be the case:

‘...there are camp structures and legal systems but there are very few women/girls [involved in them]’, ‘Most of the refugees are female but their attendance and participation in the refugee camp is low’ (ARRA official, Gambella). Some young girls did complain of their lack of voice in camp (Young Girls, Afar).

The consequences of women’s lack of representation at camp level was reinforced by one camp leader in Benishangul-Gumuz who commented that:

‘So, the women have no say. They can’t put forward their position. No one will accept what they are saying. This affects them negatively, directly and indirectly. It affects their lives because if they don’t have access to say what they want to say, how can they change their lives?’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), while in Tigray in, an NGO worker reported that ‘...young girls have limited freedom to be a public figure and exercise leadership at all levels’ (NGO worker, Tigray).

Women can be excluded from public participation by religious influences, too: ‘..... the Muslims do not allow their ladies to socialise in the community. ...it is not good that their husbands bar their women from their social rights. Even their economic and political rights... (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As a result of their under representation at camp level, female refugees’ voices are frequently not heard and their views not represented in decision making bodies in many refugee camps. As a result, governance, authority and political power are all in the hands of men,¹⁴³ creating a perpetual cycle of male dominance and control at the various levels within camp.

Many respondents reported the impact this has on women and girls’ self-esteem:

‘...there is inferiority complex’ (Young girls, Afar), ‘Man (sic) hates us because we are a woman’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘[there is] low self-confidence among women’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘Because males are there they will dominate that is culture...the females, they shame ...’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘Girls feel shy...’ ‘They (females) don’t have enough confidence in themselves’ (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Females believe they can’t do it’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘[Women have a] ‘lack of confidence’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...females think we are not equal to males’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘[because we are women] don’t get what we want’ and they don’t get ‘a better life’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘The problem is that the girls here do not believe in themselves’ (Incentive teacher, Somali).

According to one NGO worker, this inferiority complex is often compounded by the female refugees’ refugee status: ‘...the inferiority complex as migrant adversely affected them to attain and made effort to achieve the maximum potentials. They lack to express themselves in front of the public...’ (NGO worker, Tigray).

One consequence of females lack of self-confidence is that they do not believe in their ability to be professionals, including teachers and so many may not see the point in continuing with their

¹⁴³ Young girls in Tigray even suggested the government should intervene: ‘Living here is bad. Government must give warning to males. They must not continue living by their power’ (Young girls, Tigray).

education: ‘Females limit themselves, believing that they don’t make difference if they get educated and become teachers or professionals’ (Camp leader, Tigray).

In addition, gender inequities also seeped into the classroom. As one key informant put it: ‘...men dominate in the society: they also dominate in the classroom’ (ARRA official, Gambella). In Benishangul-Gumuz, female teachers said they did not want to work with men or boys, due to their gendered notions of superiority:

‘Because the boys and the men say there is a difference. They say that men are better than women. And the men tell us that they don’t want women.’ ‘All the men are like that [tell women they are inferior ...But we [the female teachers] want to show them [male teachers] that we are equal’ (Existing teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz). There were also claims that male students did not respect female teachers: ‘Male students disrespect female teachers. They are unwilling to do any exercises the teacher gives. They wait for her at night when she is walking alone and attack her. They throw stone and hunt her if she punish[es] them in the class’ (Young girls, Tigray).

‘Sex / gender-based discrimination from male professionals and students in the school’ was further cited by an ARRA official in Benishangul-Gumuz, while gender-based discrimination ‘from male professionals and students in the school’ in Gambella was also mentioned by a female teacher (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

Women have little opportunities and chances here. Even to change themselves...’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Lack of self-esteem and reluctance to enter public spaces is also a barrier to uptake of incentive teaching/trainee opportunities by female refugees:

‘Many [girls] think they cannot get opportunity...they fear’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘Girls are very shy to become incentive teaching (they believe that am not the right person for this duty and I can’t achieve it) (Existing Teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...they don’t think they can be a good teacher’ (Young Girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘If the girls and women are not coming up to express about themselves, they will not be able to teach in the school because how can they? They are shy of themselves...’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As a consequence of women’s confinement to the private sphere of the home, limited self-esteem, and their limited engagement in the public domain, any opportunities that arise in camp or in the host communities are usually usurped by men:

‘Only men are the one who got this opportunity’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘As I see, most of the time, women are not getting the same chances as men...Most girls and women have nowhere to work’

(Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...life is so hard even we can’t get job’ (Young Girls, Afar), ‘At the same time, I don’t see many things that women or girls can do. To support themselves...these women have nothing to do unless they are hired by the pre-schools or primary schools or they remain at home’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

All too often, teaching opportunities are also gendered. The implications of this are discussed in Part B.

In addition, there is often little community support for girls’ education,¹⁴⁴ more broadly, due to their culturally prescribed gender role in the home:

‘...she can see parents telling her not to go to school and education is only for boys’ (Young girls, Somali), ‘Females don’t pass their time studying’ [They are in the]...home... ‘ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘[The] community make challenge them to stay at home rather than school in order to do everything for family at all’ (ARRA Official, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘The community is not having willingness to send girls at school: they prefer to assign them for home activities’ (Existing teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Many parents continue to prioritise work in home over girls’ education and there is ongoing tension between girls’ responsibilities for domestic chores and aspirations to study: ‘Mothers can ask their daughters to stop going to school to work in the home. This can happen from when they are 7 years old’ (Female teacher, Somali). This invariably leads to girls’ dropping out of their schooling:

‘Father and mother help them to drop out to do household chores’ (Camp leader, Gambella), ‘Parents don’t allow young girls to go to school and forces them to collect fire wood, fetch water’ (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Mothers talk me [sic] you will not attend to school because you support me at home’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘[parents] ‘don’t encourage their children’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz) to go to school and that this can lead to ‘drop-out’ (ibid).

While some parents were supportive. others placed more importance on religious teachings for young girls rather than attend school:

‘Culturally young girls have influences by families to attend religious teachings than attending formal school. There are pressures from families’ force girls not to attend primary school’ (ARRA official, Afar).

¹⁴⁴ It is important to state that some of the young girls claimed to have received more ‘positive’ messages from teachers that ‘education is good for girls’ (Young girl, BG). Indeed, the female incentive teachers interviewed throughout the study reiterated these messages.

Several religious leaders interviewed stated that they support young girls continuing their education: ‘we believe education is life. Without education life is difficult, so we encourage them [the young girls] to change their life by learning’ (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

4.3.2 Gender division of labour and time poverty

The second manifestation of gender inequality is in the gender division of labour¹⁴⁵ and the resultant gender differentiated time use allocation which leads to time poverty¹⁴⁶ among the female refugee community. According to all participant groups in this study, one of the biggest barriers to female refugees’ participation in education, either as students or incentive teachers/trainees, is the prevailing gender division of labour in the refugee camps across Ethiopia which causes them to experience time poverty:

‘The major challenge for young girls in refugee camps is family responsibilities such as much workload in doing chores, fetching water.’ (NGO worker, Afar): ‘...here in the camp, they are at home. They are always at home...’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘Here you will find girls in the home...Look around, the men they are free...the womens[sic], they are in the home...’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

‘Men are freely living without any burden but women have a lot of responsibilities in the house’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Across all targeted refugee camps, entrenched gender norms have created a rigid gender division of labour whereby household chores are seen as exclusively female tasks. In Afar, one camp leader stated, candidly:

‘In Afar culture most of the work inside the home and outside is performed by women in general and girls in particular. The household chores like cooking, taking care of children and looking after cattle is the task of the girl. Activities like fetching water and collecting fire wood are also the task of the girl. Men in Afar culture including myself are lazy who didn’t want to work and not interested to attend school’ (Camp leader, Afar).

Indeed, across **all** regions respondents constantly referred to girls’ ‘burden’ of home activities’, which involves girls spending ‘large amount of energy and time undertaking household activities’ (Young

¹⁴⁵ The allocation of time between women and men in the household and in the economy is a major gender issue in the evolving discourse on time poverty (Abdourahman: 2010:16)

¹⁴⁶ Abdourahman further argues that, although this form of inequality has not received enough analysis, ‘it has major adverse implications for accessing economic rights’ (ibid.)

girls, Gambella), such as looking after younger siblings¹⁴⁷, cooking, washing, cleaning, fetching water and firewood etc. Young girls have the responsibility for all ‘work load and domestic duty’ (ARRA official, Gambella) and ‘...their day is full of different household chores’... (Young girls, Gambella). This was corroborated in focus group discussions with young girls where they described their typical day as follows:

‘...they wake up in the early morning and clean the house, they go far to bring water for their family and then cook food, after that they go to the jungle to collect fire wood. ...if the women came back home in peace they continue working in the house until the night...’ [Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella).

As part of their duties in the home, girls are often also charged with the responsibility of collecting food rations for the family. This can involve a lengthy and time consuming wait: ‘Young girls are also responsible for taking ration and this may take 3-4 days so, during this time they miss school and it may cause drop-out when it became continuous’(ARRA official, Gambella).

This gendered division of labour appeared to be culturally ingrained: ‘In general attitude towards females in the Somali community is difficult to determine. Females are preferred to serve and manage the burden of the house. Such attitude is common in the community’ (Religious leader, Somali):

‘...in their ‘Nuer’ culture the men do nothing, they entertain themselves the whole day and have no any burden. To the reverse women do all the house hold works without rest, bear children in their young age, travel very long distance to get water, ...after coming back home they need to cook food and feed their children and husbands ...’[Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella], ‘Young girls in this community are culturally limited for doing household chores: they collect firewood, fetching water and cook’ (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...the Nuer culture force[s] them to do all the house hold works...[if the] woman is sick her husband never helps in the house so she has to call other women her relatives or friends to help her...’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘Based on our culture females are thought to be housekeepers that help families as they grow and got married to raise her children’s , stay home , comforting her husband’ (Young girls, Afar).

All of the above constricted girls’ life choices, causing heavy time burdens on women and girls, ultimately creating time poverty. Time poverty in turn, ‘contributes to women’s poverty and is a form

¹⁴⁷ According to one respondent, girls must also be available to support their own mothers when they give birth: ‘the time of mother delivery in the hospital they are going to very far distance to support their mothers’ (Religious Leader, Gambella)

of ‘inequality’ which also ‘has major adverse implications for accessing economic rights’ (Abdourahman, 2010: 16). Moreover, it further isolates female refugees from the public sphere and any opportunities that might potentially lie therein.

Period poverty

Female refugees also experience ‘period poverty’,¹⁴⁸ whereby access to sanitary products, safe, hygienic spaces in which to use them and the right to manage menstruation without shame or stigma, is often denied.¹⁴⁹ Indeed UNICEF recognise that these ‘challenges are particularly acute for girls and women in humanitarian crises’ (UNICEF, 2019: 13 citing Sommer et. al. 2016). It can mean that woman and girls’ education, well-being, and sometimes entire lives are affected.¹⁵⁰

In this study, female refugees frequently spoke of the stigma around menstruation, describing their menstrual period as ‘a shameful experience’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘They don’t have sanitary pad and there is a chance that both men and girls can see them during their menstruation which makes them ashamed of and forces them to stay home’ (Camp leader, Tigray),

These findings reinforce UNICEF’s assertion that ‘Adolescent girls may face stigma, harassment and social exclusion during menstruation’¹⁵¹.

For the female refugee community in Ethiopia, however, lack of access to sanitary pads further compounds the distress they feel at this time: ‘She can see a girl who is having her period without protection and her dress is spoiled by the period’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘Young girls are deprived of getting sanitary pads and rooms for managing their menstruation’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). [Girls] ‘need [more] money for sanitation and hygiene’ (Camp leader, Somali), ‘They don’t have sanitary materials like under wares and tampons. (Incentive teacher, Tigray), ‘...they don’t get sanitary napkins on time, so they stay home and not come to school for one or two days...the girls become shy to talk about the napkins in front of other people then she may miss it. She said the government gives the girls sanitary napkins...every month but it reaches them late’ (Interviewer notes, Young girls, Tigray).

¹⁴⁸ Period poverty can be defined as ‘lack of knowledge of menstruation and an inability to access necessary sanitary materials’ (WHO, Menstrual hygiene and health - a call for dignity, rights and empowerment’, May 2020). Addressing period poverty forms part of UNICEF’s commitment to ‘Menstrual health and hygiene (MHH)’ which includes both MHM as well as ‘the broader systemic factors that link menstruation with health, well-being, gender equality, education, equity, empowerment, and rights’ (<https://www.unicef.org/wash/files/UNICEF-Guidance-menstrual-health-hygiene-2019.pdf>)

¹⁴⁹ <https://www.actionaid.org.uk/about-us/what-we-do/womens-economic-empowerment/period-poverty>.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ <https://www.unicef.org/wash/files/UNICEF-Guidance-menstrual-health-hygiene-2019.pdf>, p.13.

The challenges of period poverty and related WASH issues for female refugee students and teachers is discussed further in Part B.

Implications

For those girls fortunate enough to have the opportunity to pursue their education, balancing their workload in the home with study is a constant challenge, described in terms of a ‘double burden’:

‘...she go[es] to bring water and directly go to class and put the water jar in the class, after class end she takes the water home. She carries the water jar on her head and the bag with her hands the place where water is found is very far and she has to go early in the morning, she will be late if she go home to put the water so she has one option, to bring the water to class and after class she take it home. This also shows that girls in the camp have double burden to carry at the same time’, ‘...if she finished home chores she attend school and if she is late her teacher punish her or maybe she back to her home’, ‘...it’s the daughters responsibility to take care of the family after the mother of the house and their day is full of different household chores which doesn’t allow them to study effectively’ (Interview Notes, Young girls, Gambella), ‘...the girls are managed the home activity and not have enough time for school’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘... they become super busy in household chores and fail to study...’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

The net result is that, given the competing demands of home and school life, girls are often forced to drop out of school entirely: ‘...how can females get the chance for education while working the whole day?’ [Interview Notes, Young girls, Gambella): ‘...she has the responsibility to support her family by preparing food and fetching water... only boys will attend at school’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Indeed, responsibility for work in the home was cited by many participants as the main impediment to education and the main reason for the high female student dropout rate:

‘,,,in practical terms a girl might spent the whole day collecting fire wood and might return back home at night and at times return back home the next day. These girls as a result are forced to miss classes. And at times dropout of school due to this burden’ (Camp leader, Afar), ‘...they drop out of school for the burden of the family is all on their shoulder’ (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘...the cause small number of female students is the high work load at home’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘Girls are supposed to stay home and undertake household chores like cooking, fetching water, going to markets and at the end of the day these will make them to drop out of school’...it is also a reason why[they] drop out [of school]’ (Camp leader,

Gambella), ‘Some parents are not voluntary to send their children to school. ... Parents need children to stay at home so as girls help families in chores’ (ARRA official, Afar).

Moreover, there was also little flexibility in primary schools to accommodate this. Young girls in an FGD in Gambella explained how some of them had asked teachers if they could change to afternoon classes so as to finish their domestic duties ‘to give time to attend school’ (Young girl, Gambella). They were unsuccessful. The girls also discussed how exhausted they were with these duties and how it impacted on their ability to do their homework: ‘she may weak [sic] early in the morning and fetch water from walking long distance in the river if the tap broken and after she finished her homework’ (Young girl, Gambella). These factors must be taken into consideration into any future initiative that aims to tackle female attendance or drop-out at primary school.

Domestic workload is also one of the main barriers to female refugees’ uptake of available incentive teaching/training initiatives:

‘Her family wouldn’t allow her [take up incentive teacher training opportunities] they want her to help them in the house’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘According to Nuar culture, women should be responsible for the home-that is the reason why women and girls are not participating [in incentive teaching]’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘Huge number of family member this also make girls busy to take caring their young brother and sisters rather than learn and become incentive teacher’ (Existing Teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz).

For girls who want to pursue their education, time poverty as a result of juggling their responsibilities in the home with education often creates an impossible double burden which contributes to very high dropout rates. This further reduces the pool of female refugees who are eligible to become potential incentive teachers/trainees. The situation is exacerbated by their experience of period poverty; a gender specific vulnerability that female refugees face, on a monthly basis, and particularly acute in fragile refugee contexts.

4.3.3 Gender based violence (GBV)¹⁵²

‘She sees harassment, rape, abuse, she sees a beaten girl’ (Young girls, Gambella).

¹⁵² The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights’ Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) defines GBV as violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately (United Nations. Division for the Advancement of Women. (2000).

Violence against women is a third but even more brutal manifestation of gender inequality¹⁵³. The problem is even more pronounced in refugee populations where women and girls are at increased risk of violence (Tappis, Freeman and Doocy, 2016).

Gender based violence was identified by this situational needs assessment as a significant issue for women and girls in Ethiopia's refugee camps, with consequences for the lives of the female refugee community, including educational implications, where it can present a barrier to both learning and teaching.

4.3.3.1 Domestic violence

Violence against women and girls takes many forms and manifests in many spheres, starting in the home:

'There is a lot of domestic violence here. Husband and wife' (NGO, Somali), 'I hear my dad and mom fighting at home', 'Even husbands can physically attack their wives, 'My dad opened up about hitting my mother' (Young girls, Afar) She can see a husband mistreating his wife (Young girls, Tigray), 'She hears her sister and her brother fighting' (Young Girls, Afar), 'She hears her parents arguing about something (Young girls, Gambella), 'beating by parents', '...Solving fighting in the family' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), 'husband beating his wife' (Young girls, Somali).

Sometimes girls may be beaten by a family member: 'She may be sad when her family or relatives kick her badly' (Young girls, Gambella). When discussing what makes the girls sad, young girls in Benishangul-Gumuz mentioned: 'beating mother', 'when somebody biting [sic] her', '...when her families biting [sic] her' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Paradoxically, if woman reports her husband for gender-based violence: 'She is shamed within the community. The community will discriminate (against) her' (NGO worker, Somali). It is little wonder, then that 'Because of cultural barriers sexual violence in this camp often goes unreported' (Religious leader, Afar).

This illustrates how such violence can continue with impunity.

¹⁵³ <https://eige.europa.eu/publications/gender-equality-index-2017-violence-against-women>

4.3.3.2 Sexual harassment

Young girls consistently referred to sexual harassment among girls in the refugee camp (Young girls, Tigray). Girls can be subject to sexual harassment in camp, at school or as they move outside the camp:

‘Men in the camp may attack and harass her because she is a young girl’: ‘...boys also throw stones to girls when they pass through the streets’ (Young girls, Gambella). In FGDs, young girls consistently spoke about experiencing sexual harassment: ‘...during she move to school [sic] a boy may abuse her’, ‘...boys who stand on the road and harass especially young girls’, ‘When walking in the camp from 12- 3pm local time in the evening she may be attacked [sic] by boys ...’, ‘... they may face problems from men in their way home....’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘She can see gender abuse from men’ (Young girls, Somali).

Venturing outside of camp can be especially treacherous for girls. However, they have little choice and frequently must venture outside camp to collect firewood and/or water: It is a journey which is full of dangers. Many respondents reported that they are often harassed and/or raped on the way:

‘..If she goes to the bush to collect her bundle [of firewood]...there are thieves there...they need to rape...’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘...even one refugee girl was killed [there] by a gun...outside the camp it is not safe...’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

Sometimes girls have to leave the camp to attend secondary schools in the host community. Once again, they face harassment and abuse on the way:

‘There are abuses and harassments on the way to the host community. This could happen by both by the host community and refugee community men... school girls avoid short cut roads while travelling to a secondary school in a host community. They rather used the longest and main road to especially return home...’ (Camp leader, Tigray).

Young girls expressed their disquiet at this harassment: [It makes girls sad] when ‘somebody do sexual harassment or abuse on her’ (Young Girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘She is not comfortable because men’s who drink alcohol may harass her’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘... she decide to do her best against sexual abuse and harassment among girls in the refugee camp’ (Young girls Tigray).

Implications

Many young girls face sexual harassment both on the journey to school and in the classroom, The challenges this poses for female students and teachers are explored further in Part B.

4.3.3.3 Rape

Sexual assault is common in all refugee camps across all refugee camps in Ethiopia: 'We are sexually assaulted' (Young girls, Somali) and 'rape is a 'big issue' (ARRA official Gambella).

Young girls in Gambella were afraid to walk around the camp for fear of rape: 'I am afraid to walk in the camp because someone may rape me' (Young girls, Gambella), 'Most of the girls in this camp are often raped when they move to work in the area' (Religious Leader, Afar), 'Boys are disturbing them [girls] in the community: they are forced to be rapped [sic]' (Religious leader, Gambella).

In FGDs young girls spoke candidly about their fear of rape and their helplessness in the face of this risk:

'The worst of all is to be rape by men in the jungle. Young girls are helpless in the camp'. (Young girls, Gambella), 'I am afraid to walk in the camp because someone may rape me', '...girls rape by men every time and there is no security for them, there is almost no save [sic]place for girls who live in the refugee camp', '...you can see the girls who are raped' (Young Girls, Afar), 'Girls go to the bushes to collect fire wood for cooking, this is a very dangerous place for young girls. In this place many girls have been rape by men ...' (Young girls, Gambella), 'She hears that her friends who went to fetch wood are raped.' (Young Girls, Afar).

Once again, the girls' reports are corroborated by other participant groups:

'...if they go into the forest for firewood there the man will rape them...' (ARRA official, Gambella ... rape is a big issue' (Religious leader, Gambella), 'They go to the forest for firewood...may be raped' (Camp leader, Gambella). 'At the time of waking long distance to feaching [sic]water and collecting woods they are sexual harassed and raped' (Religious leader, Gambella). In Somali, young girls even referred to 'group' rape (Young girls, Somali).

Not only is rape an act of sexual gender based violence, it is a violation of girls' and women's rights. In spite of this, however, rape victims often bear the shame and wrath of the refugee community and may even be ostracised: '...raped girls are stigmatized to the point of being rejected' (Religious leader, Somali), '...they feel ashamed of it' (Camp leader, Gambella), 'Angelina may feel shame if she is rape by men, and she may not talk about that to anyone. It is shame to talk about that for a young girl' (Young girls, Gambella).

Apart from the trauma and stigma of the sexual assault, other repercussions are that often the girl will be blamed for this attack: 'The community will point their finger on them if they get raped...' (Camp

leader, Gambella), ‘...we got raped but even after that our societies won’t help us but isolate us then the only way will be suicide or to leave the camp, while leaving if families have found us they are going to beat us’ (Young girls, Afar), ‘If she got raped she can’t live with isolation’ (Young girls, Afar). This in turn will affect her education: ‘Raped girls are stigmatized to the point of being rejected thus making it difficult to attend school and IT programs’ (Young girls, Somali).

Moreover, young girls in Tigray revealed that if a girl has been sexually assaulted, she may find it difficult to find a husband: ‘Once a girl is sexually abused and the community knows about it; it’s difficult for her to get a husband’ (Young girls, Tigray).

One group of young girls revealed that the trauma of rape and the stigmatisation of victims can lead to some girls to end their lives’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Unwanted pregnancy as a consequence of rape is discussed further, below.

A few respondents claimed that the incidence of rape had reduced in their camps: ‘...this problem of raping is not visible currently as it used to be’ (Camp leader, Gambella). A religious leader in Benishangul-Gumuz speculated that in his camp, incidences of rape had reduced slightly since 2018, as girls had been encouraged to report it: ‘There is incidence of rape.’ ‘There life is improving now, incidence rape is decreasing but, it was worse before 2018’, ‘[The] IRC [International Rescue Committee] with ARRA teaches young girls about GBV and they encourage them to report any case of rape’ (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). Elsewhere, however, an NGO official reported that girls were reluctant to report rape for fear of a backlash: ‘There are cases of rape and as a result there will be pregnancy but, there are few who report to ARRA because they fear that they will be attacked afterward’ (NGO worker, Tigray).

In reality, there is rarely retribution for the perpetrator, as they usually run away: ‘the men automatically run away-maybe back to South Sudan’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘...there are many girls who came alone from Eritrea and live in a narrow house. They are always afraid of being rape by men because there is no justice and no one takes responsibility for the attack’ (Young girls, Tigray). Girls in Somali reported a ‘get rapped [sic] and not getting justice’ (Young girls, Somali), adding that ‘the other thing that could make her happy is justice; ‘justice over the rapists, justice over assault, justice over early marriage’ (ibid.).

Meanwhile, many women and girls must live with the stigma and impact of rape and sexual assault and the psychological and emotional damage caused by this is not presently addressed.

4.3.4 Female genital mutilation¹⁵⁴

While FGM was not referred to in every camp, it did seem to play a significant part in the lives of young girls in Somali, in particular, mirroring the culture of their country of origin-Somalia where, FGM is common practice¹⁵⁵. One NGO worker reported the societal pressures for girls to undergo FGM in the camp, to the extent that unmutated girls were not considered good candidates for marriage:

‘I hear from the refugee people about FGM....The one religious leader. He said that he didn’t do FGM for my daughters. So, these girls grew up and these girls did not get married. Because they didn’t do FGM. Because of social barriers. The people will isolate them if they don’t get an FGM. It will be hard for them so they get an FGM’ (NGO worker, Somali).

Underlining the ritualisation of the practice, the young girls themselves referred to a ‘genital mutilation day’, ‘hers or her sister’s genital mutilation day’ and ‘families talking about whose going to genital mutilation tomorrow’ (Young girls Somali). While some young girls cited ‘the experience of FGM’ as something that made them sad (Young girls Somali), in Afar, one young girl stated that ‘I’m open about being circumcised / FGM’.

In FGDs in Somali, parents implied that this practice had implications for girls’ education and called for programmes to address ‘violence against girls and women such as FGM, of addressing violence against girls and women such as FGM’ to increase girls’ education (Parents, Somali).

4.3.5 Sexual exploitation

Young unaccompanied girls are particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation. According to one religious leader, ‘It [their life] is messed up as much of them live without their families they live with sexual immorality (“Zemut”) life...Sometimes men’s push them and sometimes with their own interest’ (Anon). Worryingly, there were also reports of alleged sexual exploitation in one of the regions visited. Here, respondents claimed that young unaccompanied girls were sexually exploited. Particularly troubling were allegations of the ‘facilitation’ of ‘sexual trafficking’ and the ‘rape’ of the young girls by some individuals in positions of power and with a duty of care. This is compounded by

¹⁵⁴ FGM refers to ‘procedures involving partial or total removal of the female external genitalia or other injury to female genital organs for non-medical reasons’ (USAID,2015: iv, citing WHO, 2008)

¹⁵⁵ Plan International recently claimed that ‘Somalia’s coronavirus lockdown has led to a huge increase in female genital mutilation (FGM), with circumcisers going door to door offering to cut girls stuck at home during the pandemic’ (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/18/fgm-risk-in-somalia-heightened-by-coronavirus-crisis>) while The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) has warned that the pandemic could lead to an extra 2 million girls worldwide being cut in the next decade as to end the practice have been slowed by the pandemic (ibid.)

assertions that ‘nobody cares about them’ (Young girls) and ‘there is no one to stand for them’ which implies that, most of the time, this abuse remains unchallenged.

Implications

Gender based violence causes many young girls to drop out of school. Some drop out because they have experienced it while others drop out because of their fear of it.

Rape and the judgement they face at school as a result was a factor in some girls’ dropout (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz): ‘If she got raped she can’t follow her school because of the isolation so she stays at home’ (Young girls, Afar). Stigma, discrimination and pregnancy resulting from rape can mark the end of a girl’s education: ‘...once they exposed to rape make them not to get to school because of the judgment that they face at school and the discrimination from the community...’ (Camp leader, Gambella).

Female teachers, too, face ‘violence and/or abuse in the classroom (physical, psychological or emotional)’ (ARRA Official, Benishangul-Gumuz). This can present a major challenge to them, especially if they are young and/or not experienced or simply not trained in classroom management.

Recommendations that address issues of gender based violence are made in the next chapter and are consistent with UNICEF’s strategy on sexual exploitation and abuse and sexual harassment.¹⁵⁶

4.4 Child Early and Forced Marriage (CEFM)¹⁵⁷ and Childbearing

‘...there will be force-full marriage’ (Young Girls, Afar).

‘...they are getting in to this marriage life by force’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

Gender inequality in refugee camps was also manifested the practice of child early and forced marriage (CEFM):

¹⁵⁶ https://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/UNICEF_Strategy_Preventing_SEA_SH-summary-May_2019.pdf

¹⁵⁷ ‘The United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and international laws, treaties, and conventions have defined child marriage (also called early marriage) as ‘a formal or informal union where one or both parties are under the age of 18.33 Forced marriage is defined as marriage at any age that occurs without the free and full consent of both spouses; therefore it includes child and early marriage, as children under 18 are not able to give full consent’ (USAID, 2015:4)

‘There is cultural load which makes young girls ...marry as early as possible to bring dowry for her parents’, ‘Our culture does not consider the future lives of females...only ‘how do we get cattle’? (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘...there is a culture of south Sudanese/Nuware tribe/ to get dowry from the male family and give a way young girls at their early age, her parents receive 20-50 livestock and this greatly influence them to practice early marriage’ (Interview Notes, Camp leader, Gambella), The culture in South Sudan is that females are considered to be linked to attaining wealth’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...they only focus on benefits their family by bringing cows and other commodities their target’(NGO worker, Gambella), ‘...the majority need to do marriage...even for the community...’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘In culturally [sic] female is reach in the age 16 years she is directly married...’ (Camp leader, Gambella), ‘...culturally it [marriage] is her obligation (NGO worker, Gambella): to embrace the culture [of marriage]’ (Religious Leader, Afar).

However, as pointed by IPU and WHO, traditional practices such as this have major implications for children and adolescents, including education:

‘Practices like child, early and forced marriage (CEFM) remain an obstacle to the full achievement of better health for children and adolescents. CEFM is also a human rights violation that endangers health and growth, disrupts education, limits opportunities for empowerment and social development, and increases the risk of exposure to violence and abuse’ (IPU, WHO, 2016).

This study found CEFM to be commonplace across all the refugee camps visited in Ethiopia, where it was referred to by many respondents as one of the ‘bad traditional practices’ (Religious leader, Gambella) that makes the life of a young girl very difficult¹⁵⁸ in the refugee camps (ARRA official, Gambella):

‘...life camp is difficult mostly because of early marriage and the burden they have at home...’ (Camp leader, Gambella). In some camps, girls can be married off as early as 13 years of age: ‘They start to get married when they are 13 years old, 14 and 15’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...the age of 15 years old just giving for husbanded or early married’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

The following extracts from FGDs and KIIs clearly illustrate why this practice is referred to as ‘forced’ marriage:

¹⁵⁸ USAID describes CEFM as ‘a detrimental life-course shift during the crucial period of adolescence’ (ibid.5)

‘She can see female who are obligated to get married while they are underage’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘...their parents force them to marry early and bring dowry to fulfil economic problem in the house’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘Parents will push their young daughters to get married to a man who has money. Or who gets money from abroad. Then, you will see that the girl is pregnant by a young boy. The parents will then go to his parents and ask if he is ready to marry her’, ‘Conditional love and engagements. It’s all conditional. For the parents to get the money. It’s not that the two people are in love. They want the money...’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘There is a tradition called Aksuma- which is families give their young girls to a man for marriage without willingness of the girl at an early age. It is an arranged marriage and for this families of the young girl would get a number of camels. Camels have a unique place in Afar community...’ (NGO Worker, Afar).

In Somali, one religious leader described how the girls must begin to think about marriage from a very early age:

‘When the young girl reached around grade 8, she want to have marriage because she thought that it is right to get marriage at age of 13 and 14. This is usually happens in the community. the parents and the community are also want their young girls to get marriage, this is because early marriage in this community is encouraged. If a girl reached around 13 and 14 years old the parents enforced her [sic] to have marriage, so as to be accepted by the community, if this will not happen the community couldn’t give respect and acceptance; the community will discriminate the whole family, say like this parent has a problem and will undermine the parents’ (Religious leader, Somali).

Early/child marriage is rooted in unequal gender status and power relations that can result in the perpetual subjugation of girls and women (Flavia Pansieri, Deputy UN High Commissioner for Human Rights¹⁵⁹). Poverty is also a driver of early marriage and although some early marriages may be based on consent¹⁶⁰, due to the commodification of marriage, parents often ‘push’ their daughters into marriage to bring much needed income/resources. Marriage is often an economic contract that brings much needed cash/resources to cash strapped refugee families:

‘She may heard some families agree to early marriage for the girl because they get more cattle due to the girl’, ‘Parents forced their daughters to early marriage for having some properties like cattle from the husband’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘The problem is the parents. If your family is poor, girls will go to other places in the camp to find a husband... They cost too much

¹⁵⁹<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Childandforcedmarriagemanifestationofgenderdiscrimination.aspx>

¹⁶⁰ ‘...if young boys and young girls agreed to get married, they will do it without the knowledge of their parents’ (Religious Leader Benishangul-Gumuz)

money for families.... They will get money for their daughters getting married’ (Existing Teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...young girls ...get married to bring dowry for her family’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘...they are still a means of income generating for their family’ (NGO worker, Gambella).

Once married, the girl will be like a ‘slave’ to her husband:

‘... once get married for the husband pays a lot of cattle’s for her parents she is like a slave for him and all of the burden of the family falls on her shoulder (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘Once he [the man] marry her by paying cattles to her parents and the wife is responsible for all house works including house building’ (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘Being marries [sic] means taking a bigger responsibility to run the household (family)’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Girls regularly reported how forced marriage had a negative emotional impact on them:

‘I will be angry because they are going to marry me’(Young Girls, Afar), ‘[She is sad] When she hear[s] that she is going to marry soon’, ‘Because her family is planning to marry her off to someone’ , ‘[When] She can hear her parents planning to marry her off to someone she doesn’t want to marry and she could feel sad about that’, ‘She may [have] heard sometimes early marriage is not safe (Young girls, Gambella).

In spite of this, most girls accepted their fate: ‘She has settled for unwanted marriage’ (Young girls, Somali), while those that resist will often be punished: ‘...there is unwanted marriage so that the girls escape and when they found they will be punished’...’ (Young Girls, Afar).

According to Kate Gilmore, Deputy Executive Director at the UN Population Fund, forced marriage is the thief that robs girls of their childhood, their active participation in the world, and their exploration and realisation of themselves¹⁶¹. Poignantly, one young girl also said that ‘girls make suicide because of ...early marriage’ (Young girls, Gambella).

However, some girls have internalised this socio cultural script, to the extent that marriage and childbearing is often a fervent aspiration in their lives: ‘She is happy as her friend is married’ (Young girl, BG), ‘She is happy when her boyfriend wants to marry’ (Young girl, Tigray), ‘She hear girls talking about dropping out of school and getting married’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘My heart is opened because I got married without my age’ (Young Girls, Afar), ‘I want be merry [sic] and have own children’. This is hardly surprising given the socialisation of these girls into the prevailing cultural norms, most of which come from their country of origin:

¹⁶¹<https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/Childandforcedmarriagemanifestationofgenderdiscrimination.aspx>.

‘Early marriage before 13 years old is a culture in here...On the other hand it is good because comparing from where we came from, the war, Pressure and others...’ (Young girls, Afar), ‘When she is unwilling to marry, she stumbles from her purpose’, ‘the young girls here want to embrace the culture [of marriage]...’ (Religious Leader, Afar), ‘When they reached at the age of puberty (12-14) they think the way how they benefit their family through changing themselves [sic] for cattle culture dominated’ (NGO worker, Gambella).

Given the fragile context and acute poverty, for some young girls, marriage is a way of ensuring that they will be looked after: ‘the main goal of a girl should be to find a good husband’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘They [young girls] are looking for husbands to take care of them and feed them’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

This is particularly true for young unaccompanied female minors and the majority of which ‘need to do marriage’ (Young girls, Gambella) just for survival.

Implications

The findings of this study are that CEFM is a major barrier to education in refugee camps in Ethiopia, where many young girls have no option but to drop out of education due to weighty parental, societal and cultural pressures to marry: ‘The main reason why the young girls are dropping out of school is that they are getting married in early age and then start bearing family responsibility’ (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘...After marriage they won’t send as to school as the community thought schooling is worthless’ (Young girls, Afar).

This was corroborated by a Religious leader:

‘...when the young girls grow up and reached around grade 8, the community wants the young girls to get marriage...if she has not marriage at this age she will be discriminated and undermined. So the community don’t support and follow the young girls to continue their education’ (Religious leader, Somali).

An NGO informant explained this in terms of a cultural ‘obligation’ that leads to dropout:

‘...culturally it is her obligation that the young girl has to get married at or before 18 which will lead them to have their own family before the right time and lead them to be dropped out of school...’ (Interview Notes, NGO worker, Gambella).

In Gambella, one NGO informant reported that the overwhelming reason for the astonishing 75% drop out rates of young girls in the camp was the practice of early marriage (NGO worker, Gambella). Young girls themselves also identified early marriage as ‘a big barrier for females’ education’ and

‘She hears girls talking about dropping out of school and getting married (Young girls, Gambella). Across all regions, other participants also noted the educational implications of CEFM in the refugee community:

‘The society needs the girls to marry rather than go to school...’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘Their family wants the young girls to get married than sending them to school and encourage them to learn’(Religious leader, Gambella), ‘...early marriage ...remained a big challenge in school enrolment of young girls’ (NGO worker, Afar), ‘Some parents are forcing their daughters to be marriage early before she could finish her school because the parents are not educated’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘There is early marriage which coupled with dowry arrangements that forces young girls to drop out of school at early grade’ (Camp leader, Gambella). ‘They get married early here. When they get married, they don’t come to school. They stop coming to school’ (Existing Teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Their family wants the young girls to get married than sending them to school...’ (Religious leader, Gambella), ‘...the main problem the girls are facing is early marriage which made the girls [think] that education is not important for them for one way or another they are going to be dropped out to marry a man’.... their family always forces them to get married than studying’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

Parents were frequently blamed for creating the barriers that young girls face:

‘The cause of this problem is that we won’t continue our school as much as we want because our future lies on our parents, if they agreed to our early marriage that’s it ...we’re just going to be housewife no more’ (Young girls, Afar), ‘Yes, the problem here is the pressure on the girls for early marriage. There are girls here in this school who get married. The problem is the parents. If your family is poor, girls will go to other places in the camp to find a husband. They cost too much money for families. They will get money for their daughters getting married. They start to get married when they are 13 years old. 14 and 15...They get married early here...When they get married, they don’t come to school...They stop coming to school’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘They [the parents] want her to marry. If she goes to school, she will not be married...’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

Moreover, such is the power of this obligation, that young girls who choose to study rather than conform to sociocultural demands to marry were often not perceived as ‘good girls’: ‘Even if they want to learn but they are aged 20-21 with no husband the community does not think they are ‘good women...’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

In one camp in Afar, there were no female teachers in camp. According an NGO worker there, this is a direct consequence of early marriage: ‘There are no young girls who are trained in the incentive

teaching scheme... The reason for this is the issue of early marriage in this refugee community' (NGO worker, Afar).

The situation was replicated in other camps, too where negative socio cultural norms prescribe that girls should marry rather than pursue a profession. Since many girls marry (either by 'consent'/force) and devote themselves to taking care of their husbands, children and home, the 'choice' of entering a profession such as teaching may be either impossible or very difficult: 'She couldn't be engaged in another extra activity like teaching while she is a newlywed' (Young girls, Tigray). Moreover, there is no support in place to facilitate childcare for any female refugees who do choose to be incentive teachers/trainees.

Another barrier to uptake of incentive teaching opportunities by the female refugee community is that opportunities often present themselves at a time when many girls are already married:

'We are trying (ARRA) to increase the number of girls...we are trying to mobilise the girls but we are not finding them-they have their families...they are married... (ARRA official, Gambella), 'They get pregnant at early stage and became responsible for family and child so they don't have time to incentive teaching' (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz), '...At that age she usually is married and who will be responsible for her child' (Young girls, Gambella).

Significantly, the challenge posed by early marriage is similarly reflected in the university sector in Ethiopia, where early marriage continues to present a challenge to female representation at faculty level: 'Entrance into early marriage through the pressure of family, that is the modus operandi of Ethiopian cultural practice and the ensuing child bearing and rearing tasks, are strong deterrents when it comes to women faculty in Ethiopia' (Eschete, 2003:6). Local initiatives to stop CEFM are discussed further in Part C.

4.4.1 Early pregnancy and childbearing

Early childbearing is very common in the refugee camps where '... they [young girls] are mostly exposed to early age pregnancy' (NGO worker, Gambella), 'Nyajuok see a girls who is [sic] pregnant in the early age' (Young girls, Gambella). It is often linked to early marriage: '...they get married and get pregnant at their early age...' (Parent, Gambella).

Parents can sometimes force young girls into pregnancy, as one camp leader explained:

'Parents will push their young daughters to get married to a man who has money. Or who gets money from abroad. Then, you will see that the girl is pregnant by a young boy. The parents

will then go to his parents and ask if he is ready to marry her. And the girl will drop-out of school. Because she is pregnant... So, the parents are telling their girls to get pregnant... But, sometimes the boys will leave the camp. The parents will ask the girl, when she is pregnant, 'where is the boy?' And she will say, 'I don't know, he ran away' (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).¹⁶²

It must be acknowledged, however, that in some socio-cultural contexts, early childbearing is valued and carries significant social and cultural endorsement. The findings of the (1993) National Research Council (US) Working Group on the Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa on adolescent fertility are noteworthy in this regard:

'Because most pregnancies of adolescents are highly desired, it may be disastrous for young women in many situations to postpone childbearing past the teen years. Especially for married teens, their childbearing capacities may be highly suspect in the absence of a birth, but even unmarried teens who have not given birth might be cast both as bad prospects as wives and as possibly infertile' (National Research Council (US) Working Group on the Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility, 1993¹⁶³). They remind us that for some women in sub Saharan Africa, the 'social and economic consequences of *not* bearing children are immense'¹⁶⁴.

It is against this vital backdrop that many young refugee girls make decisions around early pregnancy and childbirth.

4.4.1.1 Unwanted pregnancy

However, girls' do not always have 'choice' in this regard and although very many young girls aspire to becoming mothers and unwanted pregnancy is very common in the refugee camps: 'Young men do sexual intercourse without the interest of female girls...majority of cases pregnancy occurs...' (ARRA official, Gambella).

¹⁶² It was also noted that this can have implications for the issuing of a birth cert to the child which can pose subsequent challenges for resettlement procedures; 'Because in Ethiopia, the law states that a birth certificate cannot be given when the father of the child is not around...You will see that the mother, or the family, has a resettlement case – and it will be delayed because the daughter conceived and the father ran away. The case will be put on hold because of that. So, there are a lot of challenges.' (Camp Leader, Somali); 'If women give birth to a baby and the man is not there when the baby is delivered, the woman cannot receive a birth certificate for the baby which can lead to significant problems in the future' (Religious Leader, Somali)

¹⁶³ National Research Council (US) Working Group on the Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility; Bledsoe CH, Cohen B, editors. Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa. Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US); 1993. 7, Consequences of Adolescent Sexuality and Childbearing for Mothers and Children. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236804/>

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

A number of participants referred to ‘unwanted pregnancy at the time of rape’ (Religious leader, Gambella). This is something the young girls are keenly aware of: ‘Nyaguok may [be] sad when she raped by boy and get pregnant’, ‘...She may heard [sic] young girls who get pregnant with rape’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘many young girls who came from Eritrea without family are being rape every time by men and there is no any justice for them, as a result they are exposed to HIV¹⁶⁵ and unwanted pregnancy’ (Young girls, Tigray).

This can sometimes expose the girls to abortion: ‘Females are exposed to have unsafe sex, this leads to pregnancy will happen and most of them will exposed to abortion’ (Parents, Tigray). Young girls in Somali referred to girls being ‘pregnant without her will and can’t abort the child’, while a religious leader reported ‘So as to get money, they are forced to have unsafe sex with different people; this leads them to be exposed to abortion and HIV’ (Religious leader, Tigray).

Furthermore, recriminations from the community can also cause girls to drop out of school: ‘As a result of most girls aborted their child the community discriminate the young girls so that they will drop out from school’ (Religious leader, Tigray).

Disturbingly, for more girls, this can have a tragic end: ‘...last time I heard that when a young girl walks in the camp a boy rape her and she got pregnant. So ...she killed herself ...’ (Young girls, Gambella), ‘Many girls died in the process of aborting...’ (Young girls, Tigray), ‘This will lead to unwanted pregnancy ...so because of this no one can marry this girl then she die while trying to abort the pregnancy or suicide... (Young girls, Somali). One religious leader recounted, sadly, that ‘...I remember one young girl had faced unwanted pregnancy and she killed herself by fairing [sic]herself with kerosene due to stress’ (Religious leader, Tigray).

Implications

According to some young girls, pregnancy and motherhood often has a higher social status in the camps than going to school / being educated (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz). This view was confirmed by an ARRA official in the same region: ‘...high maternal states of women in the refugee camp due to awareness women are prefer marriage than education (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). This perception inevitably leads to many girls dropping out of school: ‘this means high dropout rate related to this’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Incentive teachers and ARRA officials across camps discussed how some young girls wanted to continue their education even after childbirth, with some even bringing their children to class (ARRA

¹⁶⁵ Exposure to HIV was also reported mentioned as a concern by a religious leader in Tigray who claimed that ‘young girls in this refugee affected by HIV/AIDS due to lack of awareness’

official, Gambella). This was also the case with young girls who were acting as heads of households due to their parents' disappearance or even death. However, there were little or no facilities to accommodate student mothers. These factors must also be taken into consideration in any initiative that looks to reduce female drop-out in ARRA primary school.

4.4.2 Lack of information on family planning/contraception

Though in contravention of females' sexual and reproductive rights SRHR (WHO, 2014, in many camps, contraception was not culturally permissible and female refugees frequently lacked information on family planning:

'They are not using contraception... culturally it is not allowed...believe culturally you need to increase the number. In 3 years females will have 3 children...after a child is born automatically do sexual intercourse and have another child' (ARRA official, Gambella), '...they are mostly exposed to early age pregnancy because they don't have knowledge about when to get pregnant for they get married in the early age and have no awareness about it' (NGO worker, Gambella), '...even after marriage the young girls have to get awareness on how to use family planning to protect themselves from early age pregnancy' (Parent, Gambella).

As a result, girls and women often gave birth to many children: 'Females ...may have child/children...They deliver at an early age... (ARRA official, Gmbella). '[There is a] high birth rate which means women are very busy due to take caring children (ARRA Official, Benishangul-Gumuz). According to one camp leader, the situation is improving: 'It was difficult to talk about family planning before. But, at this time, at least one can go there for counselling, they get advice, and they get family planning' (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). However, some parents still expressed a desire for information on how to prevent unwanted pregnancies as : '...even after marriage the young girls have to get awareness on how to use family planning to protect themselves from early age pregnancy' (Parent, Gambella).

Implications

'...the young girl has to get married at or before 18 which will lead them to have their own family before the right time...' (NGO worker, Gambella).

Early childbearing poses a number of risks for young girls due to their physical immaturity or primiparity¹⁶⁶. Despite the potential risks, young girls in Afar report that: ‘...the ambulance is not allowed for us so most girls died at the way to the hospital’... ‘when there is early marriage we hear that they died during labour...’ (Young Girls, Afar).

In other areas too, respondents cited the health risks of early marriage and pregnancy:

‘Young girls get married very early and have (child) delivery (birth) problems... This affects their whole life.’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘...the consequence of the early marriage on the young girls is health problem that may lead them to death and this happens because they get married and get pregnant at their early age...’ [Interview Notes, Parents, Gambella)]¹⁶⁷.

In one focus group discussion, parents revealed that early pregnancy can have a detrimental effect on young girls’ mental health, leaving them without education:

‘...the consequence of the early marriage on the young girls is health problem that may lead them to death and this happens because they get married and get pregnant at their early age and they mostly face mental problem and while taking care of their husband and children at home they left without education...’ (Parent, Gambella).

*Becoming pregnant while in school has overwhelmingly negative consequences for adolescents who want to continue their education and whose educational aspirations are supported by their families*¹⁶⁸

Early pregnancy and childbearing is a common reason for girls’ dropping out of school, as one camp leader explains:

‘And the girl will drop-out of school. Because she is pregnant’, ‘Teenagers especially. 12, 13 and 14. Even at 15. These are the ones we have been seeing dropping out. These challenges of pregnancies and all these kinds of things’, ‘The girls get into relationships, they get pregnant and they drop out of school. Most of the girls. Although we are appreciating girls more. They are going to hight [sic]school. But they are still dropping-out of high school in the same way.

¹⁶⁶ National Research Council (US) Working Group on the Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility; Bledsoe CH, Cohen B, editors. Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa. Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US); 1993. 7, Consequences of Adolescent Sexuality and Childbearing for Mothers and Children. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236804/>

¹⁶⁷ Further research is recommended on the availability of maternal and newborn facilities in camp and the impact of early childbearing on young girls in refugee camps in Ethiopia.

¹⁶⁸ National Research Council (US) Working Group on the Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility; Bledsoe CH, Cohen B, editors. Social Dynamics of Adolescent Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa. Washington (DC): National Academies Press (US); 1993. 7, Consequences of Adolescent Sexuality and Childbearing for Mothers and Children. Available from: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK236804/>

They are still very young and they are getting pregnant. They do not continue their studies. When they reach 6 or 7 months, they are going to take care of their offspring so how are they going to continue studying?’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The school environment in refugee camps is not conducive to learning for pregnant or lactating girls:

‘Some of the girls are even coming [to school] with their children...it is very difficult for them. There is big class sizes-temperatures are very hot so they can’t stay in school... (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘The challenges I see are like if the mother is lactating and she has to leave teaching and she has to take care of her children too’ (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

There are many ‘lost educational opportunities’ when pregnancy forces young female refugees to drop out of school’¹⁶⁹.

Unplanned pregnancies (above) can be equally detrimental to the lives of female refugees, contributing to drop out from both learning and teaching.

4.5 Conclusion

Using participant voices, the above evidence has shown that refugee camps are fragile contexts where poverty, hunger, water and broader insecurity, psychological trauma, gender inequality, time poverty and CEFM is rife. It unpacks the key of the social, economic, cultural and gendered vulnerabilities that cause disproportionately high female student dropout rates and limited participation of the female refugee community in skill building initiatives and subsequently teaching opportunities.

Any future capacity building initiatives will undoubtedly have to address these gender specific vulnerabilities and barriers so as they are gender transformative and fit-for-purpose for female refugees, to increase the demand for, and retention of, incentive teachers in the female refugee community. Additionally, envisioned trainings for female refugee teachers will also need to be designed and tailored in gender specific ways (see chapter 7).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

5. PART B of Findings – Internal Barriers

These sections present key findings relating to the internal barriers that young refugee girls and women in Ethiopia face when engaging with education structures within and out with the camps. In particular, Part B explores the systemic issues young refugee girls and female incentive teachers experience when trying to participate in incentive teacher training initiatives, when undertaking incentive teacher training, and when teaching / learning in ARRA primary schools. To do this, information participants present about the ARRA primary schools, the regional Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) and in-camp teacher training provision is explored and analysed.

Part B is divided into three sections: (i) students and learning; (ii) teachers in camp, and (iii) incentive teacher training initiatives. These sections explore young girls and female incentive teachers' experiences teaching and learning at ARRA primary schools and sketch the structure and content of incentive teacher training initiatives currently operating within the refugee camps. The participants' evaluations of the quality of both the ARRA primary schools and the incentive teaching training initiatives are also outlined.

5.1 Students and Learning

This section focuses on young refugee girls' experiences of education and learning in the ARRA primary schools. Specifically, it focuses on the internal barriers that young refugee girls encounter whilst studying in these schools. To achieve this, this section is divided into three core themes: (i) the quality of education and teachers in ARRA primary schools; (ii) enablers helping young girls attend school, and (iii) barriers facing young girls attending school. These themes are broken down into further subthemes to ensure the findings presented are clear, methodical and that appropriate recommendations can be made from them.

5.1.1 The quality of education and teachers in ARRA primary schools

It was the opinion of a significant number of participants across the camps that 'the quality of education is not good' (Incentive teacher, Gambella) in the ARRA primary schools. The quality of education, the education levels of the teachers and the primary school infrastructure were all highlighted as areas needing improvement. Even ARRA officials were quite critical of the schools saying that 'the schools are low quality' (ARRA official, Afar) and that 'the quality of education could be improved' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). Young girls across the regions also claimed that the quality of education and the infrastructure of the schools was poor. Only the incentive

teachers had more mixed opinions on the quality of education in the primary schools. In Gambella and Afar, the evaluation was more negative. But, in Benishangul-Gumuz, the quality of education was evaluated more positively: ‘... it’s good. The quality of education is good’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Evaluations were also mixed regarding the quality of the teachers at these primary schools. Some young girls, from the Afar region complained that teachers ‘insult’ the young girls and that they do not provide ‘any homework help’ (Young girl, Afar). In Benishangul-Gumuz, the young girls routinely criticised the language skills of the teachers, as the language of the primary school curriculum is English but many of the young girls found the teachers’ English language skills to be lacking: ‘the teachers are difficult to understand’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz)¹⁷⁰. But, when the teachers are good, it is noted: ‘school is good when the teachers are teaching good’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). NGO workers, parents and religious leaders were more complimentary of the *potential* of teachers: ‘it’s good [for young girls] to have dedicated teachers’ (Religious leader, Afar) and ‘when they have developed their capacity... qualified and motivated teachers are good for the students’ (NGO worker, Benishangul-Gumuz). Thus, reviews of the quality of education and teachers at ARRA primary schools were mostly negative, although there was a recognition that teachers who are motivated and trained can offer a better standard of teaching.

A related criticism concerned the teachers not being trained to work with refugee children. Educators in TTCs in Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella remarked that, at present, ‘there is no refugee education training’ (TTC Educator, Gambella). A TTC Educator in Benishangul-Gumuz countered that ‘there is no commitment from the side of teachers - specialist education is not attracting them’. This finding echoed within the refugee camps. The incentive teachers discussed that not all students are equally catered for, especially ‘children with disability’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Some incentive teachers stated that they had asked for training and capacity building in this area as refugee children pose ‘particular and unique challenges’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). ARRA officials and religious leaders agreed, arguing that young girls with special needs or permanent health conditions may affect young girls learning which can cause them to drop-out (Benishangul-Gumuz; Gambella). The lack of psycho-social support in these primary schools meant refugee students were living with post-traumatic stress and related psychological issues. This is a clear example of how the external barriers covered in Part A materially affect young refugee girls’ educational attainment.

The insufficient size of the primary schools was also deemed to be adversely affecting the quality of education and teaching. The schools were deemed ‘too small... we need another school’ (Incentive

¹⁷⁰ In the Benishangul-Gumuz camps there were refugees from Sudan, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. As there was no common local language, lower *and* upper primary school classes were taught in English.

teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). This lack of space was reported as leading to a plethora of related issues. One such issue was overcrowded classrooms. On average, teachers reported having between 70 and 120 students in their classrooms, with one teacher in Gambella giving a figure closer to 148 (84 boys and 64 girls). An ARRA Education specialist put the number of students at 81, but a camp leader from the same camp estimated the number was more ‘between 100-200’ (Camp leader, Gambella). In Benishangul-Gumuz, three incentive teachers complained their classrooms were only built for 30-40 students but currently host ‘90 or 100’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). Another commented that there is ‘only one chair for four students in each class’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), which was reported in other regions, resulting in ‘suffocation in class’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

These findings are surprising given that Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz camps had recently received a US\$15 million grant from Education Cannot Wait (ECW) to pay for new schools and teachers¹⁷¹. In addition, the deliverables reported were the construction of ‘three secondary schools, 84 classrooms in primary schools, and classroom furniture such as desks, chairs and chalkboards’¹⁷². An evaluation of the impact of the ECW project in the Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz camps has not yet been released, but this situational needs assessment suggests these impacts may not be as comprehensive as expected.

Most participant groups agreed that the student: teacher ratio was ‘too high’ in ARRA primary schools and was an internal barrier to student learning. As an incentive teacher in Benishangul-Gumuz put it: ‘you can’t have a class with 90 students. It is not possible to have a full lesson. There is no learning. If there are 50 or 60 students, that is good. With 90, they are misbehaving. They can’t concentrate. They joke and disturb other students’. This makes it exceedingly difficult for teachers to effectively teach not only the student cohort as a whole, but also each individual student.

As Part A outlined, accessing ARRA primary schools was regarded as unsafe as it was ‘less safe for women and girls to walk to the primary schools’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). Young girls and female teachers across all camps disclosed an everyday fear of becoming a victim of gender-based violence and sexual harassment whilst walking to school: ‘girls are scared because the school is far away and not safe’ (Incentive teacher, Somali); ‘She is afraid to be a teacher because if she is living in the far zones of the camp; she will be in trouble while she is travelling to the school every day; so if that girl is from far areas inside the camp her family doesn’t allow her to go that far to teach’ (Interview notes, Young girl, Tigray). Even when the girls and women reach the school, they were still ‘not safe’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz): ‘Men scare us when we go to school’

¹⁷¹ UN News (2019) ‘Education remains an impossible dream for many refugees and migrants.’ UN News, 6 March 2019. Available online at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/03/1034141UN>

¹⁷² Ibid.

and ‘We are going to have a hard time’ (Young girls, Afar). Even when they arrive in the school, they may then have to endure more harassment by male students in the classroom.

Some schools ‘have not fence (sic) and open so students are easily out from class and stay without learning’ (Parent, Afar). This allowed people from the camp to enter the school grounds, disturb lessons and could lead to further sexual harassment of girls and women (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Part A also outlined a shortage of WASH provision at the schools across the camps. This was mirrored in the primary schools. There was often ‘no water in school’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) and the teachers and students ‘have not pure drinking water’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Thirst can be a disincentive to attending class: ‘...students say I am thirst of water during class...’ (Young girls, Gambella), while ‘no water available in the school’ was cited as one reason young girls drop out of school (Religious leader, Gambella).

The reality is that some students may need to go home to drink and are then afraid to return late to school. In addition, the search for water that takes girls out of camp for long periods can have implications for her school day: ‘...where water is found is very far and she has to go early in the morning, she will be late if she go home to put the water so she has one option, to bring the water to class and after class she take it home...’ (Young girls, Gambella). Some girls drop out of school completely due to lack of water and related WASH issues: ‘[They drop out] because of no water available in the school also no hand washing station in the school’ (Religious leader, Gambella). One incentive teacher from Somali explained:

‘If you don’t have water you can’t come to school because you can’t use the toilet. The girls go home to use the toilet and they don’t come back to school. There is also no soap. There are so many things we need at this school. We need sanitary goods. There is no tea or water. If a girl feels sick there is nothing here for her. You need to have certain things when you are sick. We don’t have anything here. And it is dirty here’ (Incentive teacher, Somali).

In 2015 the UNHCR estimated that about 20% of the schools had access to water for drinking and hygiene¹⁷³. This major issue resulted in sanitation problems, with the girls and female teachers complaining about the lack of cleanliness in the school ‘toilets and bathe rooms (sic)’ (Young girl, Gambella). Due to period poverty (discussed in Part A), girls and women were also unable to access sanitary products at school. Several different participant groups highlighted the contribution this makes to girls dropping out of school: ‘[they] don’t come to school’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘[it] can also make them [young girls] drop-out of school’ (Parent, Gambella), ‘when they see menstruation they drop-out their school’ (Religious leader Tigray), ‘Young girls are not getting

¹⁷³ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

enough clothes and other supplies like sanitary pads which have an impact to attending their education’ (ARRA official, Somali) and ‘It is very hard to stay in school, without [such provision]’ (Incentive teacher, Tigray). Female teachers also face similar challenges during menstruation.

There were also no school meals offered, and no food at all freely available to teachers and/or students who were hungry: ‘There is not enough food support in the school so this also affects the young girl to continue their education’ (Interview notes, Young girls, Tigray). This was startling as the UNHCR has recently reported that 92% of refugee primary schools offer free school meals¹⁷⁴. This exploration of the lack of school infrastructure highlights the material effects of internal *and* external barriers, and how they affect young refugee girls’ lives, including their learning and schooling.

There were also varied opinions on the quality and quantity of the learning resources available in the primary schools. More often than not, there were not enough materials available in the schools. Again, this was surprising as part of the US\$15 million grant provided teaching and learning materials¹⁷⁵. Teachers in Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz and Afar all put forward that there were not enough ‘books, notepads, pens and textbooks’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). This often resulted in students ‘sharing the books’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz) and put financial pressure on parents to buy ‘exercise book, pen, pencil, school uniform and bag’ (Parent, Gambella). It was the Ethiopian Ministry of Education who was cited as providing the learning materials for ARRA, who then distribute them in the schools. Even ARRA officials recognised there was a ‘lack of textbooks for students’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

This is unsurprising given that our findings show the number of children attending each primary school ranged from 4000 to 13,000. Often the school libraries were under-resourced and reliant on ‘aid’, i.e. book donations from INGOs. This could lead to textbooks being out-of-date and unreadable for students who were not learning, or being taught in, English (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). Despite the shortage of textbooks, the quality of these textbooks was generally regarded by the teachers as ‘good’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). But, some participants claimed that their school didn’t have a library nor a laboratory for doing science experiments (Drop-out teacher, Somali; ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). This mirrors the findings from Lashford & Malid’s 2019 study that explored the experiences of refugee students in Gambella, Benisghangul-Gumuz and Addis Ababa¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁴ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia, p.71.

¹⁷⁵ UN News (2019) ‘Education remains an impossible dream for many refugees and migrants.’ UN News, 6 March 2019. Available online at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/03/1034141UN>

¹⁷⁶ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

Whilst electrical goods and learning resources with CDs and DVDs had been donated to some schools, teachers and ARRA officials across the camps complained that, overall, schools had ‘an electricity problem’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). This meant that teachers and students could not use technology such as CD players and computers / laptops. All schools reported having no access to wifi or even dial-up internet: ‘we have blackboard and chalk. We have some games. We have a library but we don’t have any computers. There is no internet here’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz). The ARRA offices and some NGO buildings on camp had access to the internet; often resulting in teachers walking long distances to reach these premises to search for and print learning resources (ARRA official, Tigray); exacerbating safety issues that female teachers were already facing.

5.1.2 Enablers helping young girls attend school

This sub-section discusses the main enablers identified which encourage young refugee girls to attend primary school. Four main subthemes emerged from this theme: (i) what education means to young girls; (ii) girls enjoy going to school and learning; (iii) more independent futures, and (iv) more girls enrolling in school. These subthemes are now explored in turn.

5.1.2.1 What education means young girls

Being in contact with others in the refugee camps was highly valued by the young girls. In the bodymapping exercise¹⁷⁷, the young girls placed a strong emphasis on their girl being ‘in communication with other people’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz) and that she ‘sees her family... and her friends around camp’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). Friendships – especially with other girls – were extremely important to the girls. Primary school was the meeting ground where friends interact. Thus, attending primary school connects young girls to an important social network. Commonly discussed was how the young girls ‘give advice’ to each other (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). The girls conversed about how they will ‘give her friends advise (sic) about different issues such as education, relationship, etc.’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). Being with friends made the girls happy: ‘she enjoys with her friends’, ‘playing with her friends’, ‘she is smiling when playing with friends [and] sharing ideas with friends’ and ‘when at her birthday and her families and friends celebrating her birthday’ (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz; Afar; Gambella). Yet, the girls recognised that friendships were not always positive; and admitted they felt distress when they were ‘fighting with friends’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). Once again, these relations were isolated as taking place on school grounds.

¹⁷⁷ As outlined in chapter 3.

Community relations were also important enablers. Community elders / clan leaders play an important part in the lives of the girls and through these relationships they ‘can see how to respect older people’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). These respectful relations extended to the host community. A camp leader in Benishangul-Gumuz explained how important these relations were: ‘were, we are always grateful for the host community, allowing our refugee members to go around and walk. Walking in their neighbourhood. Working in the mining areas’ (Camp leaders, Benishangul-Gumuz). The importance of these relations was shown to affect young girls’ lives.

Some parents also acted as enablers for young girls. In several FGDs, parents mentioned that they were proud of their children when they completed primary education. In Benishangul-Gumuz, one parent suggested that *all* parents ‘become very proud of their children when they become educated’. Several parents also stressed that they encouraged their children to go to school. For instance, a parent in Afar was adamant that: ‘from the beginning we sending our children to school, learned & completed their education in fast track and help own so we are enjoy & happy (sic)’. Some believed that if parents brought up their children to go to school and discussed with them the advantages of going to school, the girls were more likely to ‘enjoy going to school’ (Parent, Benshangul-Gumuz). Another parent from the same FGD stated: ‘those who follow and understand their parents advice will enjoy going to primary school but, if they don’t obey their parents advice, they don’t enjoy going to school’ (Parent, Benshangul-Gumuz). Yet, this is not always the case; especially with daughters, due to external barriers discussed earlier in Part A.

Another enabler was high hopes and aspirations for the future. Several young girls discussed becoming doctors and scientists (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella), whilst another expressed an interest in becoming the President of Ethiopia (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). Education was widely recognised as a mechanism to achieve these dreams. Some girls also discussed the importance of going to university and were proud of other girls who have gone to university: ‘we hear that our friends have entered the University’ (Young girl, Afar). Arguably, these university educated refugee women were acting as positive role models for younger girls in the camps.

The final enabler was the shared belief that education can bring better resources (including money) to help their family, community and country: ‘they [parents] send their children to primary school in order to help them to get educated so as to help his families and his own country’ (Parents, Benshangul-Gumuz), and ‘if children get educated they can help themselves and then it is possible to help other’ (Parent, Benshangul-Gumuz). Also reiterated was that education provides opportunities: ‘education opens the door to know different things and it is worthwhile to send them [their children] to school’ (Parent, Benshangul-Gumuz).

Across the camps, the young girls themselves would also articulated that doing well in school could help their family and community: ‘[she] wants to help her community and her country after

completing her education' (Young girl, Gambella) and '[she] want[s] to complete her education to that she can help her community' (Young girl, Gambella). Across the regions, the young girls expressed that they 'just want to help their family... and passes the challenges and suffering and support own family' (Young girl, Afar), and that they 'need only to learn' (Young girl, Afar) to do that, i.e. to go to school.

Parents also stressed the importance of their child's education to bring better resources. In their FGDs, parents described the poor quality of education, and how their children could sometimes 'not have school' (Parent, Afar), in their country of origin/home country due to conflict and war. They openly, and painfully, conveyed how their children were now 'suffering' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz) as a result of this.

Some of the parents clearly saw primary and secondary schooling in the refugee camps as providing some stability for their children in an uncertain terrain: 'to gain and sending our children in school and well educated to engaging any activity for the future (sic)' (Parents, Afar). Thus, both young girls and parents recognised that persevering with education, including making the best of the primary and secondary schooling available in the camps, could bring rewards and resources.

5.1.2.2 Girls enjoy going to school and learning

The findings demonstrate that most young refugee girls enjoyed going to school. One Afar girl stated proudly in her FGD that 'we are students' and the girls frankly discussed how teachers and school were a focal point of their lives: '[she] can see good teachers', '[she] can see another students/black board', '[she] will see the teacher is teaching in the school' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz). Overall, the body mapping exercise encapsulated the feelings of both happiness and sadness the girls experience when they pursue education, which can be more of a privilege than a right: '[she is happy] if she can go to school as long as she want[s]', '[she] wants to finish her education' (Young girls, Gambella), '[she] is smiling when... going to school', '[she] is happy when her family and people around her encourage her to go to school' and 'Sara is happy when she has a good education... learning and going to school' (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As discussed in the previous sub-section, several parents claimed to support their children to attend school: 'their children enjoys (sic) going to school despite the challenges' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). Some young girls confirmed these findings. In Gambella, the girls commented that they were happy 'because her parents let her go to school' and 'because her family supports her in every possible way'. The teachers noticed this: 'they [the students] want to come to class' and 'they [the students] are well-motivated' (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Across the regions, many young girls felt proud of school achievements: ‘she smile (sic) because she does well on her exams and scored good results’ (Young girl, Gambella). The young girls also conveyed happiness: ‘when she gets good result on her exams’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘if she performed well at school’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘getting good grades’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘[she is happy when] receiving good grades at school’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). The girls discussed how important teacher support is to achieve this: ‘it’s good when the teachers encourage the students’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Completing school was also important to young refugee girls. The girls talked about the status and prestige in completing primary school, or at least key grades in it: ‘Passing grade 5’, ‘if she complete her school and graduate’, ‘[she is happy] to pass the exam’, ‘[getting] good grades’ and ‘[she is happy] when she get a good score at school’ (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz).

5.1.2.3 More independent futures

Part A showcased that there are substantial cultural pressures on refugee girls to perform certain roles. Yet, across the camps, numerous girls expressed aspirations for a different future. The girls recognised that education is key ‘to move to somewhere safe and better’ (Young girl, Gambella) and getting ‘a better life for her and her family’ (Young girl, Gambella). The girls also had ambitions as an individual. The previous sub-section’s discussions of young girls who wanted to become ‘a doctor, pilot, policeman, shop kipper or director after finish her school’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz) were representative of this. These girls chatted, at length, about building their own independent futures: ‘Her future will build her own house’, ‘to pursue her dream’ (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz). Some girls in Gambella also considered moving to a big city where there were perceived opportunities to fulfil such aspirations.

Incentive teachers and parents concurred. Incentive teachers admired the ambition of the refugee girls but felt it was being thwarted by several obstacles (these will be discussed in sub-section 5.1.3). Some parents had faith in their children, and tried to convey to them that education is ‘the key for life’ that can lead to ‘a better future’ as it could change their children’s ‘current life situation’ (Parents, Benishangul-Gumuz). Not only could education help children cope with ‘scarcity of resources’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz), it could help them to ‘manage their home economy, hygiene and feeding style’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). Finally, some parents in the same FGD talked about the importance of education ‘to break cultural taboos through education’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz).

5.1.2.4 More girls enrolling in school

As will be discussed in the next sub-section, the drop-out rate for young girls at primary school is high. However, TTC Educators, camp leaders and NGO workers in the Benishangul-Gumuz and Afar regions claimed that the drop-out rate was decreasing for young girls:

‘But at least now they are increasing in numbers...I go to primary schools for practical supervision, I’m seeing an increase in female students...even grades 7 and 8, they are all increasing number [of girls]’ (TTC Educator, Afar).

‘We have been talking with their parents that it is not good to keep your daughter at home. They have to go to school. Because they will be leaders of tomorrow... they will have resilience and confidence. They can gain this in school, they need to be in the school. They can’t just get this in the home’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘For women especially – and girls in general – I say things are getting better because when I compare 2011 and now there is a great change. I told you, I am an ARRA social worker. I am involved in house visits. I saw a lot of things. Now, things are getting better. One – girls recognise the importance of school. We are seeing, now, a number of girls in high school. But, previously, there were none. There were no girls in high school. So, there has been improvement’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘[Young girls] need to be educated. This is the most important thing’ (NGO worker, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘... but at least now they are increasing in numbers...I go to primary schools for practical supervision, I’m seeing an increase in female students...even grades 7 and 8, they are all increasing number [of girls]’ (TTC Educator, Afar).

These are very positive findings and could indicate that the grip of external and internal barriers is loosening on young refugee females. But, there are still significant barriers, to which this section will now turn.

5.1.3 Barriers affecting young girls’ attendance at school

This was a prevalent theme and has some serious implications for the recruitment of eligible female refugees to incentive teacher training initiatives. To fully explore this theme, it was divided into five subthemes: (i) drop-out rate and grade for young girls; (ii) disruption in the classroom (iii) illiteracy and/or lack of education in home country; (iv) lack of female teachers as role models; and (v) language barriers between teachers and students.

5.1.3.1 Drop-out rate and grade of young girls

First, it is important to stipulate that *both* young girls and young boys drop-out of primary school. Attendance in primary education is compulsory in refugee camps. Echoing recent findings of the UNHCR (2015)¹⁷⁸, Lashford & Malid (2019)¹⁷⁹ and Niguse and Carver (2019)¹⁸⁰, our findings show the drop-out rate of children in primary school in refugee camps is substantive. An ARRA official in Gambella complained ‘there is a very high drop-out rate of students’. Incentive teachers in the same region estimated the drop-out rate to be between 21-25% in the primary schools (Incentive teachers, Gambella).

Across the regions, numbers vary. An incentive teacher in Benishangul-Gumuz reported: ‘About 7 students will drop out of my class every year. So, over 100 students each year’. This was confirmed by other incentive teachers in the same region: ‘Yes, over 100 students [will drop-out of the school each year]. About 10 students will drop-out of my class’; ‘13 will drop-out of my class [each year]. About that’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Religious leaders and parents both agreed with and elaborated on these findings: ‘When you sign up will be 60-70 [students who won’t enrol]’ (Religious leader, Afar). Therefore, it is not only drop-out rates that ARRA, the Regional Education Bureaus and the Ethiopian Ministry of Education should be studying but also the rates of children who enrol in schools but do not attend on the first day of school. Other religious leaders in the same region explained: ‘In the first 6 months, 150 students will drop out’, ‘300 students per year [drop-out]’ (Religious leaders, Afar).

Reasons for the *general* drop-out of students were unclear. Parents suggested that there was ‘frustration’ between the students and teachers (Parent, Afar). In addition, parents across the regions claimed that there was not enough security at the schools, with a lack of fences leading students to leave classes early ‘without learning’ (Parent, Afar). Another reason given was a lack of basic resources. For example, an ARRA official in Afar claimed: ‘The dropout rate at times decreases when incentives like solar panels were given to students/ families. These solar panels are provided by UNHCR through ARRA’ (ARRA official, Afar). This highlights the importance of providing basic resources to decrease the student drop-out rate.

It was widely accepted that the drop-out rate was higher for young girls than young boys; with one exception: ‘I don’t have the exact figure of the dropout rate but I think the dropout rate is high for the male than the female. Because the male are in search of work or change than the female in here’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). But, camp leaders in Benishangul-Gumuz had a different

¹⁷⁸ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

¹⁷⁹ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

¹⁸⁰ Niguse, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper.

opinion: ‘I don’t know [the exact drop-out rate] but they [young girls] drop-out more than boys. Maybe about 10% [more]’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). An ARRA official in the same region offered the same statistic: ‘the dropout rate of the young girls are (sic) from 1 which is the minimum up to 10 per class room per semester’ (ARRA, Benishangul-Gumuz). Another ARRA official in the same region suggested a slightly higher percentage: ‘More than 10%’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

In the Afar region, the drop-out rate of young girls was reported to be ‘approximately 20%’ (Drop-out teacher, Afar). But, an ARRA official claimed: ‘The dropout rate for young girls here is [actually] around 45%’. In Gambella, the incentive teachers disclosed that the drop-out rate for young girls ranged between ‘25.3%’ and ‘33%’ (Incentive teachers, Gambella). These are alarmingly high statistics, higher than the average rates published in other studies¹⁸¹.

The reasons for girls dropping-out across the regions varied. However, one variable remained constant: ‘Once young girls get married, get pregnant and give birth, they rarely go to school for continuing their education and don’t aspire to be a teacher’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). This mirrors the findings from Part A of this situational needs assessment and other related studies.

The grade that the young girls dropped out was debated at length across the regions. Key informants in the Afar region claimed this was as early as grade 1: ‘[young girls drop-out in] ‘grade 1 and 2 due to family problems’ (Drop-out teacher, Afar). An ARRA official corroborated this: ‘girls dropout rate is very high especially in the lower grades from grade 1 to 4’ (ARRA official, Afar). Still, NGO workers in the region were adamant drop-out was more common in grade 5:

‘Young girls dropout school after reaching grade five. This is due to an early marriage practice here in Aysaita. There are very few girls who might continue attending school but they are not significant in number... To just explain it further, this early marriage exercise is impeding an impact on the school enrolment and attendance of young girls’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘The dropout rate might be close to 50%. Mostly young girls dropout reaching grade 5 which they could reach at the age of 13 or 14 and the reason for this is an early marriage’ (NGO worker, Afar).

This was consistent with the Benishangul-Gumuz region: ‘most of the young girls drop out from grade 5 to 8’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). Both an ARRA official and another camp leader in the same region verified this claim:

¹⁸¹ See UNICEF (2018) *Strengthening Resilience of Education in Ethiopia: Education Cannot Wait Facilitated – Multi-Year Resilience Programme Ethiopia 2020-2023*. Available online at: https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/media/2566/file/STRENGTHENING_RESILIENCE_OF_EDUCATION_IN_ETHIOPIA_EDUCATION_CANNOT_WAIT_FACILITATED_Multi-Year_Resilience_Programme_ETHIOPIA_2020_-_2023.pdf

‘And the dropout rate is high for the young girls when they reach grade 5 up to 8 because this time is the time when they face a high push from their parent and the community to get married and have their own family’ (ARRA, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘But now we have the female teachers. And in pre-school you will find females too. And we have girls in school but because of the level they are – primary school up to grade 8 – they drop-out. They end up at home caring for their children’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘Teenagers especially. 12, 13 and 14. Even at 15. These are the ones we have been seeing dropping out’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

One religious leader in this region claimed differently however: ‘They [young girls] may have completed Grade 8 but they are not joining Grade 9...often due to early marriage.’ (Religious leader, Afar). As discussed in Part A, early marriage was the most cited reason for young girls’ drop-out. This is clearly a key factor that must be taken into consideration in any future programming.

Such statistics were also consistent across Gambella; with incentive teachers asserting most drop-out occurs between grades 5 and 6. ARRA officials and parents in the same region mentioned that young girls were dropping-out, earlier and frequently, in Grade 4. Religious leaders verified these findings by adding that ‘the drop-out rate is high in grade 5 and 6 because of early marriage and family burden’ (Religious leader, Gambella). Once again, early marriage and family burden emerged as key determinants in the drop-out of young refugee girls from primary school.

NGO workers in Gambella added other factors to the mix. One stated: ‘the high dropout rate is highly seen in grade 8 because they drop out of the camp school and go to the nearby government school for grade 8 national exams’. Another NGO worker claimed that: ‘the dropout rate is high in grade 9 because of less control by ARRA School’ (NGO worker, Gambella). This situational needs assessment recommends that this finding be explored in a future study as government schools in host communities are out with the boundaries of this investigation.

5.1.3.2 Disruption in the classroom

As Part A summarized, walking to and from the primary schools was seen as dangerous for the female refugee students. But, inside the classroom was also portrayed as dangerous. A female teacher in Tigray cited the fact that ‘The girls are afraid of the boys’ as one of the main barriers female students face in school.

ARRA officials across regions commented on how the bullying and sexual harassment of young refugee girls was becoming more frequent and classed it ‘as a major barrier that students face in primary schools’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Sexual harassment in the classroom was also cited as a barrier to incentive teaching: 'I am not interested to become incentive teacher because students may harass me because of my sex' (Young girls, Gambella), 'They [the female teachers] quit because of trouble [with men in schools]' (Religious Leader, Afar). Parents in the same region also complained about male students disturbing classes: 'young men student disturb the class the teachers suggest well and excuse them' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). Part of this problem was the age difference between students:

'Another problem is the age difference. In some classes, some of the students are 18 years old and some students are 8 years old. They are not equal. The big one will fight with the small one. That is our problem' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

This disruption was augmented by the large class sizes which were previously described as 'overcrowded'. This situational needs assessment highlights once again that the size of the classrooms, and the maximum capacity of each classroom, are issues that need to be quickly addressed.

5.1.3.3 Illiteracy / lack of education in home country

According to the participants, a lack of education in the refugees' home country can result in a lack of awareness of the importance of education for the next generation. Not only was a lack of the importance of education an issue, but also 'illiteracy' (Incentive teachers, Gambella). Both camp leaders and ARRA officials across camps were adamant that this issue was impacting on parents' perceptions regarding the importance of education:

'These girls will come from poor backgrounds with scarce education... no city life with only life in rural areas. It is rare to get parents to tell their children that school is important. They don't tell them that they are supposed to go to school, that schooling is important for this, this and this (sic) reasons. I don't think this kind of idea is in the camp. Because if the parents are not educated they cannot inform their children about the importance of school' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

However, other parents recognised this disadvantage but reacted instead by committing to their child's education:

'The our country of origin not (sic) have school and life is suffering but after coming here or refugee we are stabile (sic) and gain education & sending our children in school and well educated to engaging any activity for the feature (sic)' (Parent, Afar).

However, it was difficult to reconcile these two polarised positions. A camp leader from Benishangul-Gumuz tried to:

‘And, at the same time, education plays a big role. Because, most of them... they came from rural areas in Sudan, especially. They have all ran from the war, and lived in rural areas. When they were in Sudan, they were not in the cities. They were in rural areas and didn’t have access to education. They were really marginalised. When they come to the camp, the same thing was happening – they are influenced by their cultures and their medias and all these things’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As a result, the cultural beliefs of the refugee community and their experiences in their home countries must be taken into consideration when designing teacher training initiatives to attract young female refugees.

5.1.3.4 Lack of female teachers as role models

In the FGDs the young girls debated the importance of having female teachers in their primary schools: ‘She feels sad because the number of [female] teachers in her school is small’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘We [young girls] can share personal issues with female teachers but with males [it is] impossible’ (Young girl, Afar) and ‘it’s nice to be taught by females’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). But, there were so few of them: ‘female teacher not have in this camp (sic)’ (Parent, Afar), ‘There are men but women are not [here]’ (Religious leader, Afar) and ‘No female teachers in the refugee school’ (NGO worker, Afar). This lack of female teachers was frequently referred to as adversely affecting the young refugee girls:

‘A female teacher teaches young girls, young girls are not frustrated for asking help and anything. [The YGs] Learn freely and [the female teacher] discusses transparently’ (Parent, Afar).

‘There is no role model female teachers even in this college, there are 32[33] men and just 2 are female...There is no role model...The system is not ignoring them-there is a quota -50% male and 50%female...but they are not in the lower programme at Grade 9 or 10’ (TTC Educator, Afar).

‘This factors (sic) contributed to lack of role models to these young girls. There was a [female] school director in one of the refugee camps in Afar, Berahale, but left the school a year ago. I try to ask girls in the primary school that they were initiated with the presence of this director. I try to ask same students what they feel with the director leaves the school and these girls responded that they are not as motivated as she was around’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘For girls and women – they can share their feelings and if they are in that position (as a teacher), they can share with them how they got to that position, and the girls can share with them about how they feel. For example, one girl at age 13 needs a female teacher. A man

cannot understand everything she is going through. But if the position is held by a woman, I think she can understand better' (NGO worker, Somali).

The low numbers of female incentive teachers that were interviewed in the camps stressed the importance of female teachers being role models for young girls in the primary schools:

'I want to show the girls at this school that you can be a teacher. I want to be a role model for the girls. Because... being a teacher is good. I want to show them that they can be a teacher.' 'It is the same for me. I want to show [the YGs that it is good to be a teacher]' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'All the men are like that [think women are inferior to men]. But we [the female teachers] want to show them [male teachers] that we are equal... I want to show the girls they can just be as good as the boys' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Lack of female role models further discouraged young refugee girls to pursue their education: '[the young refugee girls] see the former women refugees who finished school and they see no changes or job opportunities for them. This discourages them from going to school' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Once again, the importance of having female teachers, as role models, to retain young refugee girls in primary school is emphasised. As disclosed here, not having female teachers can result in young refugee girls dropping-out of primary school.

5.1.3.5 Language barriers between teachers and students

Across the camps, there were often communication and language barriers between the teachers and students which acted as a barrier to learning. In several refugee camps we visited, both teachers and students were not always fluent or skilled enough in the language of the curriculum. In Benishangul-Gumuz this was more obvious as the language of the curriculum was English¹⁸² and, because of this, we originally attempted to have our KIIs and FGDs with young girls and teachers in English. A surprising number of both young girls and incentive teachers struggled to understand the interviewers and could not respond to our questions. Thus, we had to quickly hire translators to be able to carry out our research.

Predictably, the girls discussed how they found some teachers 'difficult to understand' (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz) due to their strong accents and lack of not only English but local language skills. Parents in the same region also raised this issue but added: 'The quality of education is poor

¹⁸² In lower and upper primary school.

because the teachers do not know the local language and teach in Amharic & English so the students are not understood those languages’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz). This comment was directed at national teachers rather than incentive teachers as they typically do not know the local dialects in the refugee camps. Although a TTC Educator in the same region claimed that incentive teachers did not always know the local language, i.e. refugee teacher is seeking refuge from a different country to most of the students. The differences between national and incentive teachers will be discussed further in section 6.1.

These findings highlight a marked inconsistency in Benishangul-Gumuz refugee education policy. As stated in the literature review, the curriculum is usually in the refugee students’ mother tongue for lower primary (grades 1-4) and in English or Amharic for upper primary and secondary school (grades 5-12). Due to the mixed backgrounds of the refugees¹⁸³, there was no local shared language so English was chosen as the language for lower primary as English was the official language for upper primary and secondary school. This was why lower primary students *and* teachers were struggling to understand each other – the curriculum and books were in English in which neither participant group appeared, on average, to have strong language skills. This was cited several times as a factor contributing to young girls dropping-out of school.

A similar situation was encountered in Tigray: ‘from grade 1-8 we are getting the whole education in Tigrigna language so how do you think I can be a teacher for the English subject while I don’t have a good exposure to the language myself’ (Young girl, Tigray). As discussed in the literature review, incentive teacher training initiatives are taught in English at the TTCs. Thus, the language policy in Tigray refugee camps arguably places young female refugees at a disadvantage to join these initiatives.

Both ARRA officials and incentive teachers agreed there is ‘mis-communication between teachers and students’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) and that there were ‘language / communication problems’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz) in the classrooms. How this issue is being addressed by some INGOs is studied in Part C.

5.1.4 Summary

Section 5.1 explored the core category of students and learning, and broke it down into three themes: (i) the quality of education and teachers in ARRA primary schools; (ii) enablers helping young girls attend school, and (iii) barriers facing young girls attending school. The findings demonstrate that the quality of primary education in the camps was generally regarded as ‘not good’. This was due to a myriad of factors, such as the lack of teaching and learning resources at the schools; the schools, and

¹⁸³ We interviewed refugees from South Sudan, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

classrooms, being too small and over-crowded, and the quality of teachers at the schools. The high drop-out of female students was a considerable problem affecting all camps and peaked between grades 5-7, usually when the girls had transferred from lower to upper primary school. Language barriers between the teachers and students was also cited as a push factor, with these barriers intensifying in upper primary due to the change in the language of instruction from local languages to either English or Amharic. These internal barriers need to be addressed to encourage young refugee girls to remain in primary school, to then be eligible for incentive teaching initiatives.

Despite such barriers, many positives were uncovered. The findings show that most young girls interviewed enjoyed going to school and believed education was a potential pathway to a better, and perhaps more independent, future. The girls valued the (few) female incentive teachers in the schools, saw them as role models, which gave them hope that they could also obtain a professional career. Still, female student drop-out is a prevalent issue and must be addressed to ensure that young refugee girls are able to make their aspirations a reality.

5.2. Teachers in Camp

Teachers in camp emerged as a core category throughout our analysis. This category was then broken down into two dominant themes: (i) background, motivation and aspirations of female teachers, and (ii) a ‘typical’ day as a female teacher. The exploration of both themes offers insight into the daily lives of female incentive teachers and presents some of the internal barriers they face on a day-to-day basis.

As discussed in the literature review, there are two categories of teachers in the refugee camps – national and incentive teachers. This study focusses on female incentive teachers; although some national teachers were interviewed in the absence of incentive teachers in some camps. These findings also try to bring to light the discrepancies between the two categories of teachers, including differences in salary, training, qualifications, benefits and status. This was to lend potential insight into why eligible female refugees were not enrolling on available incentive teacher training initiatives.

5.2.1: Background, motivations, and aspirations of female teachers

There were three recurring motivations to become a teacher. The first concerned helping the community, with teaching regarded by some as a form of ‘community service’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella): ‘teaching is always [a way of] of serving community’, ‘[I] want to make difference in people’s live in the camp’ (Incentive teachers, Gambella) and ‘it is an individual effort. People who

have gone to university, who have trained to be a teacher... we feel that we have to help our communities' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). Frequently, education and teaching were discussed across the participant groups as ways to improve the quality of life of others in the refugee camps – especially 'young girls' (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

The second motivating factor was the desire to 'improve the quality of education' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) in the camps. As discussed in the previous section 5.1, the quality of primary education in the camps was widely regarded as low, although some participants commented that it has been gradually improving. The female teachers believed they were contributing to this: '[I am] seeing student progress develop over the time specifically young girls' (Incentive teacher, Gambella), '[I have] a strong interest to change the life of young girl students in the camp' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), and were proud that they had helped create 'educated young girls' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Third was the desire to become role models for the young girls and promote the importance of education in the camps: '[I] became a good teacher and example for student (sic)' (Incentive teacher, Gambella) and 'to create awareness about education in the community/neighbourhood' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). Overall, the female incentive teachers described they had a 'passion' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) for teaching, that they wanted to be 'a better teacher and a better role model' (Incentive teacher, Gambella) and that some 'love teaching and being in a teaching environment' (Incentive teacher, Gambella). One incentive teacher in Gambella remarked that she remains highly motivated and interested in her students 'even if the incentive is low'¹⁸⁴.

The educational backgrounds of the female incentive teachers varied. Most of the female incentive teachers had completed grade 10 or 11 in their home country (Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz; Afar) which made them eligible for the incentive teacher training initiative in Ethiopia. Some also reported having completed high school: 'we all finished [high] school in South Sudan' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul Gumuz), and others attended 'technical college' (Male incentive teacher, Afar) in their home country. However, it was widely noted that men were more likely to have a teaching qualification from their own country than women: '...it is more focused to men from cultural aspect and from my experience there are no female teachers who took training coming from their country' (ARRA official, Gambella).

Overall, most incentive teachers interviewed had trained to be teachers in Ethiopia: 'No. We studied in Ethiopia' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). This will be explored in great detail in the next section on the incentive teacher training initiatives.

¹⁸⁴ These low incentives are studied in detail in sub-section 5.3.4.1.

When asked what the percentage or number of teachers (national and incentive) were teaching in the camps with teaching diploma, they could not specify the exact number. But, some guessed that: ‘more teachers have a diploma now... than before’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). The need for a diploma / certification was a recurring theme throughout the camps. NGO workers in Afar and Gambella discussed how female incentive teachers would approach them and ask for ‘opportunities for women to get certified in the education sector’ (NGO workers, Gambella; Afar). Significantly, in the interviews, female incentive teachers who did not yet have certification *all* expressed the desire to have one ‘because the certificate indicate[s] that I have work experience’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). This showcases how important certification is to female incentive teachers.

This emphasis on certification was also related to the finding that teaching is a poor status profession in Ethiopia: ‘there is no status associated with being a teacher... Teachers are not held in high esteem’ (TTC, Afar). So, teachers who did not have their teaching diploma were held in even less esteem (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz). Resultantly, the female incentive teachers united in discussing barriers to certification. A significant number complained there is little ‘support for female’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

The importance of qualified teachers was discussed across camps. Most participant groups repeatedly stressed that teachers – particularly female teachers – needed ‘capacity development for the school community’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) which involved having ‘motivated and qualified teachers’ (NGO worker, Afar). This theme will also be further explored in the next section on the incentive teacher training initiative. This section will now move on to discuss a ‘typical’ day as a female teacher in a refugee camp.

5.2.2 A ‘typical’ day as a female teacher in a refugee camp

This overarching theme is divided into seven subthemes to provide further insight into a ‘typical’ day as a female teacher in a refugee camp. This is to isolate the internal barriers these teachers face. These themes are: (i) gender discrimination; (ii) students in class; (iii) teacher workload (iv) quality of teacher resources; (v) lack of support and mentorship; (vi) language and communication issues, and (vi) incentive and national teachers. These will now be explored in turn.

5.2.2.1 Gender discrimination

Part A considered gender discrimination in the refugee camps at length. This feeds into education as: ‘Females in the community are not given much attention and encouraged to be a teacher’, One ARRA official explained that females in the community ‘are not given much attention and [not] encouraged to be a teacher (ARRA official, Gambella). According to one female teacher in Tigray:

‘This comes from the community. The community think that females can’t be teachers. They can’t be Maths teachers. They tell the girls they shouldn’t do it. Shouldn’t try to do it. The community has a very strong influence here. They tell the girls they can’t do sciences. Girls should stay in the home or only teach languages’ (Incentive teacher, Tigray).

A TTC Educator in Afar elaborated further that there are ‘low expectations towards females which is the mainstream ‘community attitude’. ‘.... the majority of men succeed...they do not have background influence...’ Females have a lot of background...’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘Girls are told they aren’t competent enough to be teachers’ (Young girls, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘I [am] afraid no one accept[s] me as teacher’ (Young girls, Gambella) and ‘Girls have low confidence to became a teacher because they are shy at public places’ (Young girls, Tigray).

Female incentive teachers provided insight into how such discrimination further manifested itself in primary schools and Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) where there was a dominance of males:

‘The college is a male dominated one and there is no female staff and this has an implication on the education system in general which could be discouraging for young girls’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘We have 52 teachers here – for the morning and the afternoon. More are men. 48 of the teachers are men. 4 females. All 4 females are incentive teachers’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The male to female teacher ratio of teachers in the primary schools was widely discussed. Across all camps, the teachers were predominantly male. According to ARRA officials in one Gambella camp, there were 210 male and only 13 female teachers. This is a ratio of 17:1. Although, another ARRA official in Gambella disclosed that the ratio was ‘21:1’. In Somali, a female incentive teacher disclosed: ‘Total teachers [at ARRA primary school] are 26. The male are 23 and female are 3’ (Incentive teacher, Somali). Again, these statistics are much higher than those published by similar and recent studies¹⁸⁵. This same ARRA official explained that females in the community ‘are not given much attention and [not] encouraged to be a teacher’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

According to one respondent, girls may miss out on training opportunities because their families may not allow them to leave the camp:

‘It is easier for the men to go to Shire to the teacher colleges to learn. Shire is far away from here. For a lady, to be taken from here to there, that needs the agreement of families. With the father and the mother. Because sometimes they say, ‘Oh, if my daughter is going to be taken

¹⁸⁵ See (i) Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia, and (ii) Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper.

that far from here, maybe something could happen to her.’ They don’t know or realise that what she is going to do would be good for her and the family. They think she will go there and do other things. They don’t allow the girls to do that. To go to far places...’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

These factors can help to understand why so few females participate in incentive teaching. How these barriers can be tackled is presented in Part C.

5.2.2.2 Students in class

The student to teacher ratio was examined in section 5.1. This subsection focuses instead on how the numbers of students in class, and student behaviour, directly impacted on the female teachers.

Most incentive *and* national teachers agree that the classes are ‘overcrowded’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz; National teacher, Somali) and, as a result, ‘it is difficult for teachers to manage students’ (Camp leader, Gambella). Some teachers worryingly reported that students can ‘corporally attack them’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) and that ‘we are in classroom with students of varying ...linguistic background, age and learning level’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). As reported in Part A and section 5.1, some male students were also verbally abusive and denigrate the female teachers as ‘less than’ the male teachers (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). In Tigray, young girls discussed the violence female teachers can receive: ‘Male students disrespect female teachers. They are unwilling to do any exercises the teacher gives. They wait for her at night when she is walking alone and attack her. They throw stone and hunt her if she punish them in the class (made them get on their knee in the class)’ and ‘The boys disturb in the class and come without working their homework and if the teacher try to punish them they shout at her and even through stones when she walk on the streets’ (Young girls, Tigray).

Overall, the incentive teachers attributed these factors as affecting the quality of education in the primary schools (Incentive teachers, Gambella; Benishangul-Gumuz). To improve the quality of education for the students, and the working conditions for the incentive teachers, these factors must be adequately dealt with. This includes building schools with more, and bigger, classrooms. Again, these are puzzling results as ECW has just spent US\$15 million improving the school infrastructure – including teachers – in both regions. These points will be returned to in Part C.

5.2.2.3 Teacher workload

Across camps, incentive teachers complained that they had an excessive workload. These findings are in line with recent strategies, guides and reports¹⁸⁶. In Somali, both national and incentive teachers admitted they taught 3-4 different grades each week, and 2 shifts a day, which regularly demanded that they spend long days at the school. This state of affairs was reported as due to teacher shortages. Several incentive teachers disclosed that such a workload ‘interferes’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) with their family life and domestic duties which can negatively affect their family and spousal relationships. Some incentive teachers added how this pressure from both sides can lead to female incentive teacher drop-out, especially when the ‘incentives are so low’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). It was concluded that some eligible female incentive teachers who were married and/or had a lot of domestic/familial responsibilities ‘prefer other duties than incentive teaching and they don’t want to be stressed by their work’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

5.2.2.4 Quality of teacher resources

As discussed in the Students in Learning section, the learning resources available at the primary schools were limited: ‘we have limited resource with which to perform their [sic] duties’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella), which has affected the quality of education delivered at these schools. Participants’ views on the quality of the teaching resources echo these findings for learning resources. A drop-out teacher from Somali reflects:

‘We used blackboard and chalk. We aren’t civilised (laughs). We had a set textbook from the Ministry of Education. We had pens and paper. There was nothing else’.

An incentive teacher from the Somali region discussed at length the poor state of the classrooms:

‘Class room arrangement is poor. There is poor quality of black board and windows are broken and the class rooms are not clean. Generally the organization and status of the school is poor’

In two survey questionnaire, incentive teachers wrote:

‘[we need] learning materials [for] example Computers, educational toys or math materials, blocks, story books, paper, Colour pencils, markers etc’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

‘[We need more] pencils, Pens, Chalk, duster, text book, black board, table and chair (sic)’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

¹⁸⁶ See (i) UNHCR (2015) *Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018* and (ii) UNHCR (nd) *Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide*.

Discussed also was how the teachers ‘do not have their own books...they use students books...they don’t have their own...ideally both should have their own books’ (Camp leader, Gambella). In Somali, Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz, it emerged that teachers did not even have their own uniform, and that they had to share uniforms with other teachers. This could result in ‘shame’ or ‘embarrassment’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) when the teachers were short of uniforms or due to dirt or odour ‘due to the heat... they not (sic) washed enough’ (Incentive teacher, Somali). This was even more acute when there were (frequent) water shortages in the camps.

Lack of electricity in some schools was also referred to as a serious problem by the teachers. Even when teachers had sufficient electronic resources, i.e. computers and CD players, they were unable to use them. These factors need to be adequately dealt with and are discussed further in Part C.

5.2.2.5 Lack of support and mentorship

The female incentive teachers interviewed were all asked what support, training and mentorship they had been offered since they had started teaching at the ARRA primary schools. While camp leaders, ARRA officials and religious leaders across the camps stated ‘it is important to motivate and inspire teachers’ (Religious leader, Gambella), most of the incentive teachers stated there were little ‘training opportunities, support and mentorship’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) in the camps. This was confirmed by ARRA officials: ‘the teachers are not receiving mentorship nor support in the primary schools’ (ARRA Official, Benishangul-Gumuz). Particularly challenging for female teachers was that they were ‘unable to access existing training opportunities as they are outside the camp’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella; Drop-out teacher, Somali). This will be explored in much more detail in the Incentive Teacher Training Initiatives section.

5.2.2.6 Language and communication issues

Mirroring the findings in the Students and Learning section, ‘mis-communication between teachers and students’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) was a significant issue reported that teachers face in the classroom. In short, the teachers can face several linguistic challenges, including:

‘If they are trained in South Sudan. It is a good training...they will know how to teach ...it is easy for them to understand the curriculum ...if they have the same cultural background it will affect the quality of education...Language used Grades 4 5 and 6 Nuar language is used apart from English, Maths and basic Sciences/Social studies all of which are taught through English’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

‘The quality of education is poor because the teachers do not know the local language and teach in Amharic & English so the students are not understood (sic) those languages’ (Parent, Afar).

‘For me, many people don’t know how to speak English. They just know how to speak Arabic. The ladies here – the women – don’t want to be a teacher. This is a big problem here. We teach everything here in English. I can speak English so I wanted to become a teacher. But it stops some girls from being a teacher’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As highlighted in the previous section, the researchers often noted that there were language barriers between the teachers and the students. Some of the researchers began interviews and FGDs in English with incentive teachers in the Benishangul-Gumuz region as the entire curriculum was in English. The researchers found that some of the teachers did not understand them and that a small number could barely communicate in English, even though they had been teaching in English in the primary schools for 1-2 years. As one incentive teacher commented: ‘only some of them [the incentive teachers] know English’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) and that their skills in English often lag behind the men due to ‘lack of language and communication skill, female has no opportunity to learn English language and other communicative skill practices due to culture and other causes’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). This cross-cutting theme will be returned to in sections 5.3 and 6.1.

A related barrier was curriculum differences with country of origin: ‘I think our country teaching curriculum/ policy and the refugee origin country teaching policy is different, so giving teaching training for all based on our educational policy’ (ARRA official, Gambella). This can also result in language barriers between teachers and students and should be reviewed.

5.2.2.7 Discrepancy between national and incentive teachers

Another core issue regularly debated was the discrepancy between national teachers and incentive teachers. As outlined in the literature review, both national and incentive teachers work at ARRA primary schools. But, our findings illustrate that the salaries, incentives and training they receive are quite different. There is also a hierarchical difference where there is a ‘Boss-Subordinate relationship between national and incentive teachers’ (Parent, Tigray). This vast polarity in salary, incentives and training between national and incentive teachers also worked to de-motivated the incentive teachers. This de-motivation was most acutely witnessed with the salary difference between both groups of teachers:

‘In this camp have to kinds of payment for incentive teachers’ pay 800 and for national teachers’ pay up to 6000(six toughened (sic)) birr for the same position and refugee students are not happy/ interest by this in balance salary and drop out the education’ (Parent, Afar).

‘If you consider the national teachers, they pay tax and other things. For refugees, they have their ration card, they are not paying tax, and all these things. That is the policy of the government. But, as a teacher... of course, if someone I am working with is being paid more... there is no balance here. That depend on the policies of the government and the organisations working with the government. But, with teachers at this camp, they are not being paid equally with the national teachers’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

It was discussed across all regions that national teachers were being paid at least six times as much as incentive teachers for doing the same job (Incentive teachers, Camp leaders, ARRA officials). While incentive teachers do not pay tax, national teachers are also provided with free accommodation to ‘incentivise them’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) to move to, and work in, the refugee camps.

This ‘incentive’ and salary payment for the national teachers was perceived as something the incentive teachers *could not* work towards. Refugees are unable to work in the formal Ethiopian economic sector unless they are self-employed or have joined ‘‘rural and urban projects jointly designed by the Ethiopian government and the international community to benefit refugees and Ethiopian nationals, including in environmental protection, industry and small micro enterprises’¹⁸⁷. This is due to their refugee status which does not give them the same rights and entitlements as Ethiopian nationals¹⁸⁸, i.e. their movement is limited and they are unable to have a bank account or apply for a loan (NGO worker, Somali). Therefore, even if incentive teachers obtain the same education and training level as national teachers, they will never be able to obtain the same salary and benefits as them.

Although the paucity of ‘literature’ that presently exists on incentive teacher training initiatives claims that refugee and national teachers receive the same training¹⁸⁹, participants in this study were adamant this was not the case:

‘There is a problem in accepting incentive teachers to counting them as teachers by the teacher training centre. And what I think is that there should be a curriculum that focuses on incentive teaching scheme. The teachers training people refer the formal training schedule’ (NGO worker, Afar).

This lack of a coherent, and fit-for-purpose, curriculum for training incentive teachers is deliberated in the next section.

¹⁸⁷ Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper, p.8.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ See (i) Westfall (2018) ‘How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.’ UNICEF News 10 September 2018, and (ii) UNESCO (2019) ‘Teaching refugees in Ethiopia: when the teacher is also a refugee.’ UNESCO News 4 October 2019.

5.2.3 Summary

This section analysed the experiences of teachers in refugee camps through two themes: (i) background, motivations and future aspirations of the teachers, and (ii) a ‘typical’ day as a female teacher. The findings demonstrate that there are very few female incentive teachers currently teaching in the refugee camps, with some camps having no female teachers at all. Most participant groups claimed this was partly due to embedded external barriers already discussed in Part A. The most pressing barrier was gender discrimination which was deep-rooted into the culture of the camps. Primary schools were spoken of as male-dominated spaces where girls and women were not always welcome, nor encouraged to be teachers. This affected the female teachers’ day-to-day lives in the primary schools, with reports of some male students physically and/or verbally attacking them; and denigrating them for being female.

Another significant barrier was the working conditions of the primary schools. The student: teacher ratio was uniformly rated as too high, and the fact that the students in each class had different linguistic backgrounds, ages and learning levels made the classrooms almost impossible to manage. Adding to this was the grievance that the schools were too small and under-resourced, meaning a lack of chairs, tables, books, chalk and other basic resources in the classrooms. Like the young girls, the female teachers also disclosed a lack of physical security in the schools which can lead to the female teachers experiencing violence. The workload of each female incentive teacher was also regarded as ‘excessive’ and unsustainable when combined with their workload at home. The pressure from both workloads often resulted in strained relations between female incentive teachers and their families, which has contributed to females dropping-out and leaving the profession.

Another two important barriers were language and communication issues in the classroom and the discrepancies between national and incentive teachers. Across the camps, different languages were used in the primary schools, but English and Amharic were most frequently used as official curriculum languages. This acted as a barrier to refugee girls and women who were interested in becoming teachers but did not have the necessary language skills. Both national and incentive teachers had the same workload but were given different salaries, trainings and incentives for teaching. In some cases, national teachers were paid more than six times the salary of an incentive teacher. This actively de-incentivised the female refugee teachers and nudged them to look for better paid work either inside or outside the camp.

Despite these internal barriers, the findings revealed that the female incentive teachers were highly motivated, were qualified to at least grade 10 level, and that some had their teaching diploma. Most of the female teachers stated that becoming a teacher was a good way to help the refugee community, improve the quality of education in the camps, and be a role model for young refugee girls.

5.3 Incentive Teacher Training Initiatives

‘Untrained, stressed teachers are a protection risk in schools. However, teachers with clear roles and responsibilities, training and supportive supervision can ensure that schools are safe, protective spaces where children can regain a sense of normalcy following the trauma of displacement. Trained teachers can also ensure that children learn life-saving knowledge and skills like disease prevention, self-protection from environmental and sexual and gender-based violence risks’¹⁹⁰.

As outlined in the literature review, there are some initiatives targeting incentive teachers across refugee camps in Ethiopia. Yet, there is a paucity of information on the structure and content of these initiatives, and how they link together across regions, or its place within wider education policy in Ethiopia. This section analyses this ambiguous terrain to provide, if possible, a framework for understanding what incentive teacher training initiatives are currently in place in the refugee camps; and evaluates them according to the views and experiences of our participants.

This chapter explores these initiatives through five themes: (i) incentive teacher training initiatives; (ii) recruitment to the main initiative, (iii) training across camps, (iv) main barriers, and (v) fast-track option. These will now be discussed in turn.

5.3.1 Incentive teacher training initiatives

To lend some clarity into this ambiguous terrain, this subtheme has been broken down into three subthemes: (i) ambiguity in definition; (ii) the ‘main’ initiative; and (iii) awareness of the main ‘initiative’. This allowed us to separate a ‘main’ initiative from other initiatives currently operating within the camps. This was a difficult process, which the following three subsections illustrate.

¹⁹⁰ UNHCR (nd) Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide, p.1.

5.3.3.1 Ambiguity in definition

There was recurrent ambiguity throughout this needs assessment in allocating a descriptive ‘category’ for the training available to incentives teachers, in-camp and in the TTCs. Although the TOR refers to teacher training ‘initiatives’, there is no visible policy framework for the incentive teacher training that is occurring in-camp and/or in the TCCs. This lack of policy documentation has made this situational needs assessment dependent on the responses of the participants to present the existing incentive teacher training initiatives we have been asked to evaluate.

A key finding of this study is that the TTC Educators interviewed were unable to provide clear answers when asked about specific initiatives or programmes that the TTCs ran to train incentive teachers. ‘There is no such focal person’ (TTC Educator, Afar) in charge of these initiatives or programmes, was the response. When prompted further, this same educator responded that they sometimes ‘went to the camps for training follow up’ with incentive teachers (ibid).

But, participants in some camps described how such incentive teaching ‘initiatives’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘programmes’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) and/or ‘schemes’ (NGO worker, Afar) ‘have not been working for many years’ (ibid) in the refugee camps. An NGO worker added that: ‘There are trials to make an awareness for the community at large and specifically the gate keepers but this was not working for many years’ (NGO worker, Afar).

What was tenuously agreed across the TTCs was that TTC Educators work in ‘collaboration’¹⁹¹ (TTC Educators, Afar, Benishangul-Gumuz) with NGOs in refugee camps to ‘give training for incentive teachers... it is a short-term training... this year some incentive teacher training will be upgraded’ (TTC Educator, Afar). Such inferences imply that refugee teacher training is an ‘initiative’ or ‘programme’. But, when the researchers asked to inspect any official documentation that contained an overview of the initiative – including its aims and objectives – and/or the training manuals that the incentive teachers received, there was not any available. This echoed discussions with incentive teachers who stated they had not received any training manuals or programme overviews in their training, whether in-camp or in the TTCs.

Further confusion materialised when an ARRA official from the same region tried to categorise this as a(n) ‘initiative’ / ‘programme’:

‘I know about the incentive teacher training scheme for young girls who complete grade eight and get some trainings and join the program. However, it was not practiced yet. The incentive

¹⁹¹ The analysis will show, throughout this section, that this collaboration needs some work.

teachers here are those who completed grade ten and above. The maximum grade attained is diploma' (ARRA official, Afar).

From this quote, incentive teacher training was a 'scheme', recruited refugee girls who had completed grade 8 of primary school, and was not yet currently active in that particular camp. However, it appears there is *another* 'scheme' which recruited incentive teachers who had passed grade 10, and that TTCs and NGOs 'trained' incentive teachers for an indeterminate amount of time. Overall, the latter 'scheme' was the most referred to across camps, was what was discussed in the literature reviewed, and variants of it involved the training taking place in-camp or in the TTCs, and the teachers were paid a varying rate of an 'incentive' salary (between 700 to 920 Birr depending on the camp) to teach in the primary schools in the refugee camps. For analysis purposes, we call this the 'main' initiative in place to train incentive teachers. Other 'initiatives' were also explored and, where possible, boundaries were drawn to differentiate these initiatives, although that was not always possible.

5.3.3.2 The main initiative

Some of the definitions of the main initiative we received were:

'Yes, I know that that UNICEF is collaborating with the regional offices to help the young girls... [The initiative's] aim is to improve the quality of teachers, to help the teachers to know more about the subject they teach, to qualify teachers, to upgrade their skills in class management, to upgrade their education level by sending them to the nearby teachers education college (gilgel beles teachers training college in this case), to include the females to use the opportunity, to level up females in their society and to help the young girls to avoid early marriage and to make them focus on their education' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'Our main focus is to give training to the student teacher who are completing Grade 10... There is some Diploma training... Before that there is certificate training-below Grade 10 it is short term training including active learning methodology continuous assessment etc, This is in collaboration with NGOs... The short term training is for 1 or 2 days In summer, the course is for 2 months... covers a 4 month semester programme as it is a double system held in the morning and afternoon' (TTC Educator, Afar).

'The basis of the programme is to encourage refugees to train to become teachers. It is vocational training and is supported by NGOs like the NRC and IRC. It teaches teaching methodologies. Even if you graduate from Ethiopian universities, you have to know about pedagogy, a methodology about how to learn' (ARRA official, Tigray).

From these excerpts, it appears that UNICEF and other INGOs – such as the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and the International Rescue Committee (IRC) are working with ARRA regional offices to improve the quality of incentive teachers (both male and female) in refugee camps. The incentive teachers must have completed grade 10 to ‘qualify’ for entrance into the initiative; thus are eligible to receive training in the TTCs. However, there is also ‘certificate training’ which is offered to interested candidates who have not completed grade 10¹⁹². The former training is described as ‘some diploma training’ which suggests it is adapted from the official national teacher training diploma on offer at the TTCs as discussed in the literature review. This coincides with reports given from other participant groups that incentive teachers were being trained alongside national teachers in the TTCs, but in a more ‘short-term’ capacity (Camp leaders, Benishangul-Gumuz; Incentive teachers, Somali).

The duration of the incentive training provided was also highly disputed across the camps and participant groups. The above excerpts highlight that both short and long-term training was available. In the Afar region, short-term training could be as little as 1 or 2 days, but long-term training could last as long as 2 months, which ‘covers a 4 month semester programme as it is a double system held in the morning and afternoon’ (TTC Educator, Afar). However, some incentive and drop-out teachers throughout the study disclosed that they had received training for 1-3 years at the TTCs and had gained ‘a diploma’ as a result (Incentive and drop-out teachers, Somali). When asked what was the difference between this diploma and the diploma for national teaching, one of the drop-out teachers replied ‘nothing’ (Drop-out teacher, Somali) but complained that even with this extensive training they could only earn the ‘incentive’ salary, which was at least 6 times less than national teachers’ salary.

As has been discussed in various sections throughout this report, the ‘incentive’ salary was widely criticised. According to an ARRA representative: ‘teachers are like volunteers teaching their own community with small amount of payment’ (ARRA official, Gambella). This small amount of payment is given to ‘incentivise’ the refugees to become incentive teachers and ‘give something [back] to their community’ (ibid). Focusing on females, another ARRA official stipulated that: ‘the community will encourage her [females] to do it [incentive training] since it is a good way to earn some money for her too’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

There was a lack of agreement across the camps, and participant groups, as to whether the main incentive teacher training initiative was in fact attractive to young female refugees. Like the ARRA official in Benishangul-Gumuz quoted above, some participants believed this initiative was good for females as it provided them with a ‘salary’ and ‘help(s) help the young girls avoid early marriage and to make them focus on their education’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). The same official

¹⁹² We could not find any incentive teachers, across the 13 camps, who had progressed this way.

added that the initiative ‘is the only opportunity for the [female] drop out [of school] to improve their capacity and have a professional experience’ (ibid). The rest of this section will explore this uncertainty and its ramifications for young refugee girls and women in the camps.

Finally, the date the main initiative was introduced to the camps and the content of the training was also widely contested. An ARRA official in Gambella claimed the main initiative began in ‘2017 G.C’, with some claiming it preceded this (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) and others that it is more recent (ARRA official, Afar). The literature suggests it began in 2017 in the Gambella and Benishangul-Gumuz regions¹⁹³. The inconsistencies in the delivery of the training will also be further discussed throughout this section.

5.3.3.3 Awareness of the main initiative

Whilst the levels of awareness of the main initiative varied across camps, what appeared to follow a pattern was *who* was aware of it. Most commonly, ARRA officials, camp leaders and incentive teachers were aware of the initiative, although these groups appeared to understand it differently. For example, an NGO worker in Gambella explained how refugees had to ‘take an entrance exam’ and demonstrate an awareness of teaching methodology before becoming an incentive teacher. This understanding was not repeated anywhere else.

The participant group frequently least aware of the initiative was, in fact, the young refugee girls:

‘...there is a lack of awareness among the young girls themselves and in the community, more generally. Most young girls and community have not awareness about incentive teaching initiative’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

Even when some young girls had heard of the initiative, they could only sketchily outline it: ‘We heard rumours but we don’t know much about incentive teaching’ (Young girl, Gambella), and ‘there are incentive teachers who are from the refugee community and they... are not paid equally with the national teachers in the school’ (Young girl, Gambella). Parents also seemed not to be aware of the initiative, which is problematic as parents are, arguably, most influential in shaping ‘their children’s aspirations’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). One parent commented: ‘female incentive teachers not have [sic] in this camp because young girls not have awareness to teaching jobs’ (Parent, Afar). This suggests that much work is needed across the camps to promote the initiative to young girls and their parents.

¹⁹³ Westfall, A. (2018) ‘How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.’ UNICEF News 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/how-improve-quality-education-refugee-camps-qualify-teachers>.

Some of the female incentive teachers even remarked that they had not heard of the incentive initiative prior to undertaking it. Three female incentive teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz all visited the TTC in Asosa to enquire about how they could train to become teachers. No one in the camps had informed them there was an incentive teacher training initiative, which the teachers called ‘a significant barrier faced by women in the camp’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). A drop-out teacher in Somali also told a similar story, having first enquired in the primary schools about how to become a teacher, and was sent to the TTC in Jigjiga but there was ‘no mention’ at the schools of ‘incentive teaching’ or initiatives already in place (Drop-out teacher, Somali). As a result, there is much work to be done in the refugee camps to promote this initiative.

5.3.2 Recruitment to the main initiative

The main initiative’s recruitment strategy was also vague and differed across regions. In Gambella, ARRA officials claimed to ‘post vacancies in camp’, although some young refugee girls reported to have never seen such vacancies. In Somali, one ARRA official stated: ‘When vacancies are posted there is no criteria to include more young girls’ (ARRA official, Somali). In Tigray, an ARRA official confessed he was directly approaching refugees based on their profile:

‘We have data of the refugee teachers here. How many of them have graduated from universities in Ethiopia. How many of them were teachers or other professionals in their homeland. Based on their data, we try to identify these refugees. And they apply, based on their skills. It’s not only for incentive teachers by the way. There are incentive health professionals, nurses – based on their data, we try to engage with them. When we need specific professions. So, we use their data to recruit them’ (ARRA official, Tigray).

As discussed in the Teachers in Camp section, female refugees usually have less qualifications than their male counterparts. It is the men who are more likely to arrive in refugee camps with ‘certificates on teaching training’ (ARRA official, Gambella). Female refugees have typically ‘not taking teaching training in country of origin’ (ibid) and were more likely to drop-out of school or teacher training due to the social, cultural, environmental and economic barriers as discussed in Part A. This was reiterated by NGO workers: ‘[if the initiative] should select the best refugees... are these not inevitably going to be males?’ (NGO worker, Gambella). This is confirmed in the literature with ‘initiatives such as these are not open to all teachers, as they are in part merit-based and are dependent on the availability of funds’¹⁹⁴. This tentatively suggests that this ‘merit-base’ may be the teaching qualifications and

¹⁹⁴ Westfall, A. (2018) ‘How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.’ UNICEF News 10 September 2018.

experience the refugees already have, which may be unknowingly excluding female refugees. This was partially corroborated with an NGO worker in the Somali region:

‘I heard about incentive teachers scheme for refugees. There are refugee incentive teachers in the camp. I have never heard about an incentive teaching program for young girls who completed primary schools. But there are young girls who completed some secondary and working in the primary school’ (NGO worker, Somali).

As a result, ARRA needs to re-think its recruitment strategy if it is committed to attracting eligible female refugees and having more female incentive teachers teaching in ARRA primary schools.

As sections 5 and 6 illustrated, female incentive teachers are few in ARRA primary schools. At least one camp in every region studied had no female incentive teachers. When there were female incentive teachers, they were considerably less in number than their male counterparts. On average, the ratio of male to female teachers was more than 10:1¹⁹⁵. This was why primary education had a reputation as being a ‘male-only’: ‘The college is a male dominated one and there is no female staff and this has an implication on the education system in general which could be discouraging for young girls’ (NGO worker, Afar). Some young female refugees agreed with this analysis: ‘The opportunity is not available for females around here... All the positions are already taken by males’ (Young girl, Gambella).

Relatedly, both female and male participants felt there was a lack of job opportunities in ARRA primary schools for female refugees. One incentive teacher claimed that the primary schools ‘don’t give them [women] a chance’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Young girls across also commented there was a lack of ‘lack of (teacher) training opportunities to females’ (Young girl, Gambella), and that some of them would choose to work in the home instead of intensive teaching as they have heard about the initiative’s challenges (Young girls, Gambella). Providing and facilitating training opportunities was frequently cited as an enabler to attract female refugees to the initiative (Young girls, Gambella; Somali).

Despite this perceived ‘lack of opportunities’ (Young girl, Gambella), some young girls across the camps were interested in becoming teachers: ‘I want to support students’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘I want to get money’ (Young girl, Gambella) and ‘I want to support my family’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). But, they didn’t know about the initiative and nor know if they were eligible: ‘we are interested to become incentive teachers even though we don’t know if we are qualified for it’ (Young girl, Gambella).

¹⁹⁵ 10:1 male: female ratio was considered the average in similar, recent studies in Ethiopian refugee camps as discussed in the literature review.

Again, this lack of awareness of the initiative, especially by young girls and parents, and its current recruitment strategy *must* be reviewed in the camps. Years have passed since the would-be incentive teachers from Benishangul-Gumuz and Somali inquired at the TTCs to find out how they could become teachers. There is little evidence to show that the outcome of this situation would be any different for young girls in the refugee camps today, i.e. they would have to directly inquire at the TTCs not only find out to about the initiative but to also be recruited.

5.3.3 Training across camps

This section has already suggested that female incentive teachers have had quite different experiences of training in the main incentive teacher training initiative. This subsection sets out to categorise and explore the range of training available in-camp and in the TTCs by breaking this theme down into four separate subthemes: (i) ARRA / TTC training; (ii) in camp training (NGOs and TTCs); (iii) evaluation of training, and (iv) no training. These will now be discussed in turn.

5.3.3.1 ARRA / TTC training

The findings indicate that the main incentive teaching initiative is run by ARRA regional offices throughout Ethiopia. It is also being supported by UNICEF, Regional Education Bureaus (REBs) through the TTCs, and other INGOs and NGOs. The premise was that the teacher training would be run in the regional TTCs nearest the camps¹⁹⁶, and that this training would be supported in-camp by INGOs/NGOs. But, this didn't always happen. Incentive and drop-out teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz, Afar, Tigray and Somali reported having *some* of their teacher training in the TTCs in Asosa (Benishangul-Gumuz), Shire (Tigray) and Jigjiga (Somali). None of the teachers interviewed in Gambella claimed to have studied at the TTC there. Still, an NGO worker in that region claimed:

‘...[the incentive teachers] only get a very short kind of brief and then they start teaching but last year there were a training at Gambella teachers training college for two months ...’ (NGO worker, Gambella).

In all regions it was made clear that the incentive teaching initiative, and its training, was not cohesive, as the training in the TTCs was only selected sessions of the teacher training delivered to national teachers, rather than the complete teacher training or specialist incentive teacher training:

‘There is a problem in accepting incentive teachers to counting them as teachers by the teacher training centre. And what I think is that there should be a curriculum that focuses on incentive

¹⁹⁶ As discussed in the literature review.

teaching scheme. The teachers training people refer the formal training schedule' (ARRA official, Afar).

Contrary to the information presented in the literature review, the incentive teachers interviewed did not receive a scholarship nor subsidies provided by ARRA, the REBs and/or UNICEF to attend the TTC¹⁹⁷s. As a result, the training 'courses' tend to be short-term – usually 1 or 2 days at a time (TTC Educator, Afar; Incentive teacher, Gambella) – to stop refugees accumulating costs. But, some of the trainees could not even cover these costs:

'The training ... [incentive teachers don't] have any payment during training. So we have to do refreshment training [in the camps]' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'...problem when the training is held outside the camp for they have to pay for their accommodation of hotel and food and reimbursed after the training and may don't have many to cover for their accommodation' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'The payment given for the training is very low that it discourages them to participate, there are teachers who don't participate in the training after they have been screened for the training' (ARRA official, Gambella).

These were the circumstances where ARRA and the TTCs partnerships with INGOs and NGOs, located in the refugee camps, came to the fore. Although there was uncertainty regarding who delivered this 'refreshment training' in different camps, the general rule of thumb was that in-camp teacher training was provided by on-site INGOs/NGOs. The ambiguity of this situation is detailed in the next sub-section.

ARRA officials provided quite different portrayals of the TTC training, highlighting the difference between what is on paper (or, in this case, not even on paper due to lack of official documentation on the initiative) and the lived reality:

'Regarding to Gilgel beles Teachers education college they were provide for our incentive teaches pedagogics training for 10 months at summer time , other training was minimum learning competency , how to manage class during teaching as the same time they were develop their professional skill' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'In the [incentive teacher training initiative] and in-school training the teachers receive: assessment for learning (AFL), minimum learning capacity training (MLC), English for learning 1 and 2(EFL), training on how to teach through play which is given by right to play,

¹⁹⁷ See (i) Westfall, A. (2018) 'How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.' UNICEF News 10 September 2018, and (ii) UNESCO (2019) 'Teaching refugees in Ethiopia: when the teacher is also a refugee.' UNESCO News 4 October 2019.

language for solving problem and training on girls based violence’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘Regarding to Gilgel beles Teachers education college they were provide for our incentive teaches pedagogics training for 10 months at summer time , other training was minimum learning competency , how to manage class during teaching as the same time they were develop their professional skill’ (ARRA official, Tigray).

Again, there appears to be two different ‘tracks’ for the main initiative. The first is longer-term, approximately 10 months to ‘one year’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz; ARRA official, Tigray), and is one-third of the curriculum that national teachers receive. The second is much shorter term (can even be a few days long), more piecemeal, and is ‘supplemented’ by NGOs – and done ‘in-school’ - in the refugee camps.

But, how these different tracks are validated is also confusing. As a drop-out teacher in Somali discussed, you *must* study for 3 to 4 years in the TTCs to receive a teaching diploma: ‘I got my diploma from a teacher training centre in Ethiopia. I studied there for four years... it is the same qualification as the national teachers’ (Drop-out teacher, Somali). Yet, there were three incentive teachers who studied for only one year at the TTC in Asosa but also received ‘the same’ diploma certificate. Additionally, some the incentive teachers who did more short-term training at the TTCs and ad-hoc ‘in-school’ training had also received diploma certificates from the TTCs. None of the participants could elaborate on what the differences were between them, if any.

To the researchers, it appeared there were in fact three teaching qualifications that the incentive teachers could obtain: the certificate, diploma and degree. But, the incentive and drop-out teachers continued to refer to the end qualification as a ‘diploma’. Due to the lack of paperwork on this initiative, it is impossible to discern if there were one, two or three qualifications associated with this initiative, how many modules or what training courses the incentive teachers must do to obtain the diploma, what is considered a standard training curriculum for an incentive teacher and how this differs from a national teacher. These findings reinforce that this initiative needs to be re-designed as a coherent programme to give it more validity so it can be officially inserted into the refugee education policy framework in Ethiopia.

5.3.3.2 In camp training (NGOs and TTCs)

Again, there were blurred boundaries regarding who delivered the ‘in-school’ or in-camp training – INGOs/NGOs or TTCs. Many incentive teachers were not sure as guidebooks or training manuals were never provided. It was the camp leaders, NGO workers and TTC Educators who attempted to explain how the in-camp training functioned:

‘Ideally, I came across with the idea of training young girls who could complete primary school might join the incentive teaching scheme. But practically DEC [Development Expertise Centre] is working with the government training centre in Aysaita training incentive teachers who completed grade 10 and more... On the top of these all activities the main focus area for DEC is capacity development for teachers, students, school directors and PTAs (Parent-Teacher-Student Associations)’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘DEC is working with the college and there are six staff who are acting as tutors for the training which is provided to teachers at refugee schools but the college didn’t seem flexible in accepting such schemes’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘What I have been hearing and seeing... The British Council have been coming. Especially to primary schools. They have been taking teachers to Shire for training. And bringing audio kind of trainings here. They’ve been doing that at the school. I have been seeing this... This is what we have been looking for all this time’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘And also, there are organizations like IRC and NRC who take the responsibility with ARRA, and trained those teachers by bringing trainer from Aksum and Shire’ (ARRA official, Tigray).

As there were no female incentive teachers in the Afar region, we did not receive confirmation whether or not those teachers had been trained by the TTCs, DEC or both. But, the second excerpt suggests there was tension between the DEC’s and the TTC’s approach to delivering the initiative. According to camp leaders and NGO workers, the DEC had its own approach to building up incentive teaching capacity. It operated under a ‘Star School approach / model to achieve its focus of capacity development for the school community’ (NGO worker, Afar). One of its key pillars involved creating ‘motivated and qualified teachers in the primary schools’ (ibid). The INGO African Humanitarian Action also provided training ‘twice or three times a year. The training is given to both national and incentive teachers’ (Camp leader, Afar).

After consistent questioning about who ran different teacher training initiatives, two incentive teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz recalled that some, if not all, of their incentive teacher training had actually been provided by The British Council, rather than TTC Educators at the TTCs. One of them stated: ‘I had two trainings with them [The British Council]’, but the other recalled she had been going to British Council training courses ‘for about a year’. Both agreed the courses were on: ‘how you teach the children. How you prepare classes. Student discipline. How students learn’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz). An ARRA official in the same camp added that The British Council also provides training on ‘English language skill development training, lesson planning, and team-work. This also increases number of teachers and students [in the primary schools]’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). Resultantly, it seems that The British Council was running a significant portion of the main initiative; calling into question who the key training provider is in this main initiative.

In Gambella and Tigray the situation was quite different. The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) was cited as working in collaboration with ‘Adwa teachers college prepares training in Shire town on a yearly basis’ (Camp leader, Tigray). The British Council was also present there, providing ‘English language skill development training, lesson planning and team work’ (Camp leader, Tigray). The researchers could find no clear information from the refugee camps about the TTC in Gambella, with incentive teachers claiming they had never studied, nor visited, there. It seemed only one NGO, Plan International (PI), was ‘supporting’ the delivery of the main initiative in the camps, delivering training ‘on a yearly basis’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). But, the numbers of incentive teachers interviewed were low in Gambella due to strikes over late incentive payment so this may not be fully representative. The incentive teachers who were interviewed were forthcoming about the training they received although they could not identify who delivered it. They discussed ‘short courses’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella) that were delivered in-camp, which covered the following topics: ‘...pedagogical and phycological [sic] trainings’, ‘large class management’, ‘lesson plan preparation’, ‘roster preparation’ and ‘pedagogical training on how to teach lower grades, How to prepare teaching lesson plan and Methodology tranings [sic]’ (Incentive teachers, Gambella).

Surprisingly, one incentive teacher in Gambella claimed there was no official incentive teacher training. Instead, there was an unnamed project that provided skills development training for teachers, which included: ‘capacity building training’, ‘refugee primary school teacher by applying a student centured [sic] methodology, classroom, management’, and ‘positive discipline approach in education’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Again, no training manuals were received (ibid). There was also discussion of safeguarding and child protection training but, again, the teachers could not name who in fact had delivered this training.

Overall, INGOs and NGOs were identified across camps as plugging ‘gaps’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) in the delivery of the initiative. Other INGOs discussed included the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and the International Rescue Committee (IRC). The NRC was reported as focussing ‘on literacy – accelerated learning programmes for adults. Not for children’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) whereas the IRC focussed more on helping teachers to improve their English:

‘There is an organisation in this camp – IRC – where you can go to improve your English. We did two training courses with the IRC to help us. They lasted about one week’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

In Somali, Save The Children was also reported to be providing incentive training: ‘There are skill development trainings on education by other NGOs here like the one Save the children is providing’ (Incentive teacher, Somali). In summary, there are discrepancies across the camps regarding the duration and delivery of the teacher training ‘initiative’. There appeared to be three training pathways: (i) undertaking a 3-4 year diploma in the TTCs with national teachers; (ii) a 3-12 month training

course which could take place in the TTCs and/or in-camp and was run by both the TTCs and INGOs/NGOs, and (iii) very short-term training (usually 1-2 days) to allow incentive teachers to start teaching in the primary schools, and then sporadic ‘upskilling’ training provided by both TTC Educators and INGOs/NGOs. All three were reported to lead to a diploma certificate, but the actual modular requirements of the diploma were not discussed and there was no official documentation offered to help us determine the actual format of delivery of the initiative in the camps. This must be reviewed and rectified.

5.3.3.3 Evaluation of training

A key method of evaluating how successful a teacher training programme is, is to evaluate the quality of the teachers it produced¹⁹⁸. Overall, the incentive teachers were evaluated negatively by other participant groups. For example:

‘Incentive teachers are high in number but low in quality... they do not know how to teach/prepare rosters/attendance/discipline. They have no knowledge of how to deal with any physical or mental disability - the quality of incentive teaching is very low’ (ARRA official, Gambella)

‘Teachers training have to be improved and frequently provided for most of the incentive teachers [are] not college graduated’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz).

It is clear from these two excerpts that the teachers were evaluated negatively as they were perceived as not sufficiently trained. These findings show there *is* a discrepancy in the training of incentive teachers. An ARRA official in Benishangul-Gumuz sums up this discrepancy well:

‘In my opinion there are two aspects regarding to training the first one is highly qualified incentive teachers who have at least [grade] 12 complete or diploma they will be properly use the training from teachers education college and they will have successfully when they teach students but incentive teachers who are selected from grade 6 or 8 they are not qualify for teaching and even they don’t know how to use the training from teachers education college because they are not enough qualified in my opinion’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Again, it seems as if there is more than *one* initiative going on in these camps, with the ‘ideal’ initiative recruiting refugees at grade 10 or above, but that there is a supplementary initiative

¹⁹⁸ Abebe, W. & Woldehanna, T. (2013) Teacher Training and Development in Ethiopia: Improving Education Quality by Developing Teacher Skills, Attitudes and Work Conditions. Working Paper 103. UK: Young Lives, p.1. Available online at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08a2c40f0b64974000474/yl-wp103-abebe-woldehanna.pdf>

recruiting less qualified refugees¹⁹⁹ to increase the pool of available teachers. But, this was not claimed to be the ‘main’ incentive. Even then, the training in the main initiative was not uniform and grade 10 qualified incentive teachers disclosed very different training experiences. These ‘gaps’ (TTC Educator, Afar) or oversights in the training were well-noted across the camps and it was steadily recommended that the training be professionally evaluated to ensure the initiative, or initiatives, was/were ‘fit-for-purpose’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

There were also more positive reports. Incentive teachers were most positive about the training and the initiative overall. They valued that it gave incentive teachers ‘knowledge about teaching’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) as several of the teachers did not have *any* knowledge about teaching before enrolling on the initiative. Two of the teachers discussed the importance of learning education theory and being able to associate different teaching practices with different theorists: ‘You learn about different people who teach differently. You will remember their names. You know who does what. This is important’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Some ARRA officials were also complimentary of the initiative and training. For example:

‘The training delivering way is very good, I think before training the female teachers not know about roster preparation and way of teaching/ how to teach students & student approaches but after training with tray [sic] and error is best’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

‘this program boosts their [female incentive teachers’] confidence, it helps them to know how to explain themselves, it level up their mind set, it helps them to plan their life, it help them to settle and build up their capacity are the reasons why the program needs to be adopted’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

What was most praised about the training was that it gave teachers basic knowledge of teaching and pedagogy, and that the initiative was being run ‘in collaboration with the stake holders like Gambella education office, UNHCR [and] UNICEF’ (ARRA official, Gambella). Whilst some incentive teachers agreed with this evaluation, they were also quick to point out that this basic knowledge and the current format of the training ‘is not enough to create an effective incentive teachers (sic)’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Yet, other incentive teachers discussed how some teachers had not received *any* training and this is elaborated on in the next subsection.

Unfortunately, this was the extent of positive evaluations. Criticisms not focusing on the teachers included that the initiative was not actually designed for refugees: ‘The courses prepared for the incentive teachers is not demand driven and not specific for the refugee community’ (NGO worker, Afar). Our research concurs this criticism may be valid. As previously discussed, the training was

¹⁹⁹ Where the training is mostly provided by NGOs in camp.

specifically designed for Ethiopian national teachers and that incentive teachers were only invited along to this training; it was not adapted for them. As a result, ‘incentive teachers training should be taken as one modality / scheme’ (ibid), thus the training should be designed *for* incentive teachers.

Unsurprisingly, a related criticism was that there were weak links between the TTCs and incentive teachers:

‘... there is a weak link between teachers training college here in supporting incentive teachers. There is no prior consultation from schools what the incentive teachers are requiring. The teachers training college simply came with its prepared manual and provide the training and went back. Recommended trainings from the school is mostly rejected by the teachers training college’ (ARRA official, Afar).

This excerpt showcases how top-down the incentive teacher training initiative can be. The Teachers in Camp section highlighted how incentive teachers did not feel prepared to work with refugee children, nor in the conditions they were required to teach. Yet, none of this appeared to be covered in the training initiative. Two camp leaders discussed how this top-down nature of the training provided by the TTCs mirrored how regional and municipal government worked in Ethiopia:

‘I don’t want to say that the municipal government are not working. They are working. But, I don’t agree with them in many aspects. They are very bureaucratic... if x is not signed then y cannot happen. Even if the government are to blame for x not being done! It is not good. I have been telling them they should want to be humanitarians in their approach. Because refugees are people who have fled their countries or origin, they have left everything. These are people who are completely dependent on aid... We have been talking about the same issues for years but still they remain’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

These comments suggest that ARRA, TTCs, REBs and the Ministry of Education need to engage with key stakeholders within the refugee camps to re-design the training and main initiative so they address the needs of the actual teachers and students. Participants echoed this and recommended that both ARRA and the TTCs needed to speak directly to the young girls to find out what their needs were so they could be recruited as teachers. This could have naturally addressed some of the ‘gaps’ and oversights that are now present in this situational review of the current initiative and training.

Another complaint regarding the initiative was that it does not provide the incentive teachers with a scholarship to support their studies / training at the TTCs, despite claims in the literature that it did. The teachers who were already teaching at the primary schools had their incentive payment, but even that was not enough to cover food and accommodation costs (Incentive teachers, Somali; Benishangul-Gumuz). If the initiative is committed to training qualified incentive teachers, it must cover such costs.

Despite such limitations, the potential of the initiative was recognised by some of the participants:

‘Not everyone can be understood by, and teach, the students. But, I believe when the student starts asking questions it means they were learning something. But, if a teacher is just talking and the students are not getting anything, then it is nothing. This is what I have seen. But, now, really I have seen from the teachers who are trained. I see that it is really a good move. The programme brings all these teachers up, and we will get a good number of students in the programme in the future’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘I appreciate the training programme. It is the only way to qualify those teachers. Because, one, there are teachers who don’t even have a grade 12 education. Most of them reached grade 10 and the women they remain at home. It is good you are now upgrading them and training them. From where they were. And it has improved the teachers. Their methodologies, the way they teach’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The potential outcomes of this main initiative are worth investing in. However, the initiative needs to have clearer, and more transparent, foundations to be able to sustainably achieve these outcomes. One such foundation is to ensure that all incentive teachers receive training as some reported receiving none, to which this section will now turn.

5.3.3.4 No training

The findings revealed that some incentive teachers had not received *any* training. In one KII, a female incentive teacher reluctantly, and worriedly, disclosed that she hadn’t received any training despite working at the school for over six months and despite being told she would receive some ‘in the first month’ (Incentive teacher, Somali). Two female incentive teachers in Gambella also disclosed they had received ‘no training’ since they had started teaching (Incentive teacher, Gambella).

Religious and camp leaders were also forthcoming about this and declared that this problem was widespread: ‘most of refugee teachers, they did not receive any teacher training’ (Religious leader, Gambella). This was apparently due to a combination of factors, including communication problems between the TTCs and incentive teachers and a lack of scholarship for the teachers to attend this training – both of which have been repeatedly highlighted as key findings. Again, these factors need to be taken into consideration in any future initiative looking to train incentive teachers. Now, this section moves on to outline the main internal barriers that female refugees face undertaking this initiative.

5.3.4 Main barriers

A total of five internal barriers were identified as core: (i) pay and lack of career progression; (ii) pool of eligible girls; (iii) halts progression to secondary school; (iv) language barriers, and (v) drop-outs. These will now be discussed in turn.

5.3.4.1 Pay and lack of career progression

'I don't need to have money in the bank; I just need food and clothes... it's better for me to get up in the morning and teach... all I need are my basic needs...' (Male incentive teacher, Afar).

As highlighted in Part A, refugees face substantial challenges deriving from poverty and their broader fragile context, including in being able to secure adequate water and food for their day-to-day life.

A refugee incentive teacher was paid between 720-920 birr per month depending on the camp. The overwhelming finding in all refugee camps and across all participant groups interviewed for this situational analysis was that this payment was not sufficient to provide even the most basic standard of living. ARRA officials acknowledged that the current levels of remuneration were insufficient for incentive teachers: 'they are economically poor and salary not enough' (ARRA official, Gambella). Other respondents expressed similar views: 'They hardly survive life due to low salary rate' (Religious leader, Afar), 'The salary rate is small and it doesn't encourage them to take advantage of this incentive' (Camp leader, Gambella), 'The incentives to teach in the schools are not enough' (NGO worker, Gambella), '...our money isn't enough for clothes, shoes, and food, and we face transport problem,...' (Teacher, Gambella), '...we do not have enough salary (900 birr)...we cannot even change our clothes [we have one set of clothes]...it's really a shame to stand in front of students with these clothes what can you do?...it's better than sleeping' (Male incentive teacher, Afar) and 'Salary... we complain... It is not enough to live on...' (Camp leader, Gambella),

Some participants suggested that incentive teachers were more like volunteers than teachers: '...these teachers are like volunteers teaching their own community with small amount of payment' (ARRA official, Gambella). This was not only affecting the uptake and retention of incentive teachers, it was also affecting the quality of teaching delivered in the schools: 'The low level wage and lack of incentives to the teachers make us angry because it would definitely influence the quality of education' (Young girl, Gambella), '... the quality of incentive teaching is very low...even the national teachers are very weak educational quality...the main reason is the low payment' (ARRA official, Gambella) and 'Incentive teachers they are not happy...if teachers are not happy how they can reach for...otherwise they do work by force... low payment is damaging' (ARRA official, Gambella).

Furthermore, many incentive teachers could afford to take breakfast on this salary and were coming to school hungry: '[There is] Not enough salary for incentive teachers so those are very challenging because the salary is 805 birr only so not full fill the need for live and the teachers are not eating breakfast...' (Camp leader, Gambella). Existing teachers corroborated this: 'The main problem is my salary. I cannot cover my basic needs...To teach Grade 1-6, you need action/energy [but] we come here sometimes without breakfast...' (Male incentive teacher, Afar).

Incentive teachers confirmed that the incentive payment does not reflect the workload involved in teaching: '[The] financial incentive (805 birr) is not sufficient for size of the workload' (Incentive teacher, Gambella). In light of the low payment to incentive teachers, many young girls with an already high workload considered it a waste of time: '... it will be killing her time from other activities...' (Young girls, Gambella), 'Now salary of incentive teachers are small it is 800birr/month, to spending time as incentive teacher is losing of time because she have responsibility of home shores [sic]' (Young girls, Gambella).

Payment delays were also common within the camps: 'Incentives [teachers] are crying for their money...' (Camp leader, Gambella), 'The salary is very small and it is very [sic] delayed when it is paid' (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), '[Payment is] always delayed' (Religious leader, Gambella), 'Monthly salary is not paid at the appropriate time usually paid late' (Young girls, Gambella), '...incentive teachers have been 2 months without payment' (Religious leader, Gambella) and '... They are late paying the salary' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

On the 5th March 2020, as researchers arrived in one camp, they were told that the schools were closed as the incentive teachers were on strike. The reason for the strike was that incentive teachers had not been paid their salary for more than two months. Similar delays were reported in other refugee camps. The striking incentive teachers [who were all male] reported that they had never gone on strike previously, but they had not been paid since December and were finding it very difficult to survive. Some of these incentive teachers were studying and using 500 of their 800 Birr salary on fees. Meanwhile, their children were 'crying [with the hunger]', 'We only survive with the help of God' (Male incentive teacher, Gambella).

Poor payment was consistently and overwhelmingly cited as a 'disincentive' and the main barrier to the uptake and retention of incentive teaching by respondents, across all participant groups. Low pay was cited as a challenge for existing primary teachers in camp: 'They are not interesting to teach because of the less pay salary per month' (Religious leader, Gambella). Young girls in FGDs expressed a 'lack of interest' in incentive teaching 'due to low salary' (Young girls, Gambella). Some even suggested that only rich women can afford to undertake this incentive role: 'If she is rich she may want to [be an] incentive teacher because the salary of incentive teacher is 805birr/month' (Young girls, Gambella).

Some incentive teachers with families drop out because they cannot maintain their families on such low remuneration: ‘Those who were teachers before... they left... because the payment was not enough. You are a graduate but you get 800 Birr. And you have a big family’ (Camp Leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The poor payment for incentive teachers forces many to seek income generation elsewhere:

‘Low salary of incentive teachers, this also the main cause to limit them became incentive teacher because they are going to do other small business than incentive teaching due to this low payment’, ‘...they are going to other unofficial income generating method.’ So, it seems that females will find jobs other places to get out of poverty quick rather than train to be an incentive teacher where they are not being paid’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As a result, some incentive teachers will take on ‘private’ work: ‘the fee is not good so we [teachers] participate in our private work rather than teaching’ (Incentive Teacher, Gambella). Completing primary school also means that often girls may be in a position to qualify for other [better paying] opportunities. With such meagre pay, any girl with qualification will look for more lucrative work elsewhere rather than becoming a female refugee teacher: ‘If they are qualified...they often go to other NGOs or they search for a position in the host community...they are not interested to work for 800 birr...’ (ARRA official, Gambella); ‘Some of the girls who completed primary and/or secondary are recruited in other IPs [international partners] like Goal Ethiopia and MSF (Medecins Sans Frontiers)...they are recruited in other IPs’ (Camp leader, Gambella); ‘ Young girls aspire to join NGOs like NRC and ZOA Ethiopia as a social workers than to take part in incentive teaching initiative, there are young girls who quite incentive teaching and join NGOs’ (Camp leader, Tigray) and ‘I want to pursue my masters degree while I am teaching, upgrade myself in other profession. And I want to work in NGOs’ (Incentive teacher, Somali).

According to one camp leader, some incentive teachers have even had to go to the mines to find more lucrative employment:

‘Some of them have gone to the gold mining sites in nearby areas. Especially in the current situation where there is no food. You are a teacher with a family... what do you do?’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz)

‘...if someone is getting 800 or 920 Birr, they can go to a mine that is open here and get more in a week than what they can get in a month. Why should I bother and give my time to the school for such payment?’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

According to parents, who are key actors in terms of encouragement, poor remuneration was a disincentive to encouraging their daughters into incentive teaching: ‘...teachers have family and the salary [is] not enough to feed the family so drop the teaching jobs and engaged another jobs’ (Parent,

Gambella). Some parents reported that many students choose to work at home instead of incentive teaching because they have heard about its challenges: ‘The young girl students also looking and hearing about incentive teachers challenge so not interests for teaching job and drop out the education and remain in home’ (Parent, Gambella).

Poor pay is also an impediment to getting permission to become incentive teachers from the family: ‘if the salary is much [sic] her husband or her family will allow her to engage in incentive teaching’ (Young girls, Gambella). Male partners (who are the principal decision makers in the family as illustrated in Part A) may only support/give permission for such an activity if it is financially viable:

‘Her husband will be happy if she is able to bring more money (if she will be paid 2000 birr) he may allow her to teach’, ‘The payment the incentive teachers are getting here is really few so she believes it’s better to stay at home and take care of the house. Her husband also believes it’s better for her to take care of the house instead to go to get that incentive money which doesn’t change life’ (Young girls, Gambella).

Another related criticism previously introduced was that the salary was static – the incentive teachers could not earn more money even if they obtained their diploma certificate. In reality, this certificate has little value outside the refugee camp as the incentive teachers, as already discussed, do not have the right to work outside the camps: ‘They have no right to work actively to fulfil their varying needs since they are secondary in the country they are in. their needs are limited very much’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz); ‘incentive teachers are alienated in terms of salary and other rights like being seen equal in front of law make them to retreat from the incentive teaching scheme’ (Parent, Afar). Therefore, there is little career progression for incentive teachers, and no chance to earn more money whilst working for ARRA schools in the camps.

5.3.4.2 Pool of eligible girls

To qualify for entrance into the main initiative, all teacher candidates must have completed at least Grade 10. The general consensus across the camps and the participant groups was that this pool of suitably qualified refugee girls was not available: ‘[There are] Limited number of young girls who completed primary and/or secondary school’ (Camp leader, Gambella), ‘They are not well prepared. In Other words there are few (or not at all) grade 10th or 12th complete females’ (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘The main problem that the parents mentioned as a challenge for the young girls not to use the incentive teaching initiative is the eligibility problem which means they don’t mostly fulfill the educational criteria to be a teacher’ (Parent, Gambella), ‘High qualification requirement of selection criteria, most girls in the refugee camp are not well qualified so this high selection criteria is limited their participation as incentive teacher’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘on the other hand

there are low number of qualified females in the refugee camp which means properly educated or well-educated females are very few in the refugee camp' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz) and 'The problem is girls are not educated that is why they are not competed to be incentive teachers only boys are qualify (sic)' (Religious leader, Gambella).

Culture was primarily cited as a reason why the girls did not meet this eligibility status:

'[the] education level of the girls is the big barrier for them not to the opportunity of becoming an incentive teacher and the cultural barrier are also always there to stop girls from using the opportunity' (NGO worker, Gambella).

'It is very difficult to get educated female among and from the refuge community.... there was no room for female education at the beginning' (NGO worker, Benishangul-Gumuz).

These cultural barriers were discussed at length in Part A and this subsection brings to the fore the material effects of these barriers to uptake of the main initiative. To enrol more female refugees on to this, they first have to complete grade 10. Therefore, ARRA and the REBs should work with the INGOs and NGOs in the camps to tackle both the internal and external barriers associated with this issue.

5.3.4.3 Halts progression to secondary school

Not all young refugee girls drop-out of primary school. In Parts A and B of the analysis it was uncovered that some parents do support their daughters to go to school to finish their education. Several eligible young girls in the FGDs complained that enrolling on the incentive teacher training initiative could mean foregoing progression into further education:

'[the young girls] said that when they become an incentive teacher they may be drop-out their school from grade eight. So, they did not interest to become incentive teacher. They want to complete their school' (Interview notes, FGD Young girls, Gambella).

'There is not anything that motivates to take the advantages of this incentive for young girls; this is like there is not additional training, higher education opportunities' (Camp leader, Somali).

'I want to complete my school' (Young girl, Gambella).

'When I become incentive teacher may be I afraid I drop out my class' (Young girl, Gambella).

For those girls who were invested in their education, leaving it to enrol in the main initiative appeared counter intuitive, especially as they had got so far against many odds. As covered in the Students and Learning section, a number of young girls had aspirations for the future, which included undertaking

further education to enter more prestigious professions: ‘Another girl wants to be a doctor not a teacher’ (Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella) and ‘she doesn’t want to be a teacher because according to her she wants to be a midwifery (sic) to help women during delivery’ (Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella). It was also suggested that: ‘Some of the girls who completed primary and/or secondary are recruited in other IPs like goal Ethiopia and MSF’ (Camp leader, Gambella). Across the camps, it was reported that INGOs/NGOs paid more – and provided more incentives - than the incentive teacher salary²⁰⁰. Again, the low salary was acting as a disincentive to attract young girls to the initiative.

5.3.4.4 Language barriers

‘The other thing is that there are women who may be qualified but the problem is the language. Most of them, they write in Arabic. But, here, the language in the schools is English. That is another problem here. So, I don’t know. Until they have English, they can’t teach’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

As presented throughout this chapter, there were significant language barriers in the classroom which affected student learning. Our findings showed that women were less likely to have the necessary language skills to teach due to their lower education levels: ‘There is a language problem and it means they can’t teach. The girls here need to be able to speak English. They are learning English in the schools. If they are dropping out of the schools, they are not learning English. So, they cannot be teachers’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). Some NGOs were providing additional English courses to help incentive teachers improve their language skills. This will be explored in Part C.

Another language barrier is that the teacher training in the TTCs is in English²⁰¹. It was suggested that the teacher trainers ‘support [the female incentive teachers] with their journey, while training given to them need to include refugees language’ (ARRA official, Somali).

5.3.4.5 Drop-outs

Throughout the data collection period the researchers were only able to interview four drop-out teachers. However, there was reported to be many more. As was presented in the Methodology chapter, several drop-out teachers were suspected to have changed camp, obtained employment elsewhere (most likely in the host community), had returned to their home country, or had moved on

²⁰⁰ This will be discussed sub-section 5.3.4.4.

²⁰¹ Westfall, A. (2018) ‘How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.’ UNICEF News 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/how-improve-quality-education-refugee-camps-qualify-teachers>

to a third country. The participants confirmed these factors, but also revealed that some of the drop-out teachers had resigned: 'Some of them resign. They go back to South Sudan. Some of them go to university to study. I don't know how many [in total]' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). The four drop-out teachers interviewed validated all four of the external barriers outlined.

The low salary and lack of career progression was the most pressing barrier:

'Because there was a problem there [the ARRA primary school]. Let me tell you, that problem is. There are two teachers: incentive teachers and national teachers. National teachers take high salaries, incentive teachers don't. Even if the incentive teachers had a diploma, their payment didn't change. There was no justice. We were doing the same thing; doing the same job. The national teachers have a diploma and they get much money. But, I am an incentive teacher and I have a diploma, but I don't get the same payment' (Drop-out teacher, Somali).

'Is it possible to compare 700 Birr a month for an incentive teacher and 5000 Birr for a national teacher? But the task and responsibility remains the same' (Parent, Afar).

For others, 800 birr is not enough for all...compared with national [Ethiopian] teachers but even they drop out ...this month 3 national teachers left their work....Incentive teachers they are not happy...if teacher's are not happy how can they reach for...otherwise they do work by force.... the community...They are not interested in the salary... low payment is damaging' (ARRA official, Gambella).

'[There needs to be more] supporting and training teachers to become tough, [and a] salary increment (we were paid 800, while locals [national teachers] get 4000 a month)' (Drop-out teacher, Somali).

'No [I would not re-join the ARRA primary schools], because teaching in the refugee is difficult for girls. Salary is less and work burden is more. I do not like to be stressed' (Drop-out teacher, Tigray).

Once again, the discrepancy in salary between the incentive and national teachers was front and centre debated as a disincentive for incentive teachers. With no career progression in sight, some of the drop-out teachers approached private schools and/or NGOs in the camps to earn more money:

'We have no more female teachers in the camp. They work with other organisations. They will work with the NGOs, with UNICEF' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'I work at another school. It's a local language school. [The salary] is better than the ARRA salary... the salary is a problem. The incentive teachers need to have the same salary as the national teachers. Especially if they have a diploma' (Drop-out teacher, Somali).

The lack of consistency and training with the main initiative was also cited as a determinant in drop-out. One drop-out teacher discussed how she went to a local NGO to ask for teacher training and ended up working for that NGO because it offered a better salary and ‘less stress’ (Drop-out teacher, Somali). Relatedly, the workload at the ARRA primary schools was also a factor in drop-out: ‘work burden is more [in ARRA primary schools]. I do not like to be stressed’ (Drop-out teacher, Tigray), ‘There are just too many students and not enough teachers’ (Drop-out teacher, Somali).

5.3.5 Fast-track option

The TOR is clear that UNICEF is considering creating a fast-track version of the existing main training initiative if there is demand for it. In reflection of the ambiguity of the existing training – and that some of this training appears to be very short-term – most participants were, unsurprisingly, quite dismissive of such a proposal. Our findings have demonstrated at length that there were substantive external and internal barriers impeding female participation in incentive teacher training initiatives. Making this initiative fast-track is unlikely to eradicate these problems; an opinion several participants shared. Reflecting on their experiences of running the initiative in the TTCs and in-camp, one TTC Educator was more in favour of lowering qualifications needed for refugees to enrol: [this] would likely be more effective than a fast-track option’ (TTC Educator, Somali).

Yet, other TTC Educators formed the opposite opinion: ‘If they have completed Grade 10-even if entry point is lower, it will increase the numbers...but quality? [He shrugs his shoulders]. Also this could not be done without first agreeing it with the Education Bureau’ (TTC Educator, Afar). This was a conundrum for several participants. Whilst lowering the entrance criteria may encourage more young refugee girls to enrol, it could have a detrimental effect on the quality of teachers. This opinion was common throughout the camps, especially with ARRA officials: ‘Fast track... could affect the quality of education’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘ In my opinion I didn’t agree on fast track training because I don’t think it as quality training due to short time as well as selection criteria’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). Thus, as the quality of incentive teachers was already under fire, this did not seem to be an appropriate long-term solution. But, some of the young girls were interested in this: ‘[We] have an interest to become an incentive teacher and [the teachers] mentioned as a reason is the training is short’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The idea that the fast-track option might attract more female refugees, and put more female teachers quickly into ARRA primary schools, was attractive: ‘this [fast-track programme] will create an exemplary good female teachers for the others female students’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘The program become an attractive refugee girls will develop interest to join the program’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Thus, there would be more female incentive teachers – hence role models – in the schools which could encourage girls to remain in school until grade 10 and join the

incentive. Still, several participants were adamant that the internal and external barriers to the initiative need to be overcome first:

‘... and the fast track option mentioned by the director is that making the training at the camp level, providing everything that the training requires, continuous training but the reality is that it needs more time to change the situation for there is deep rooted cultural ,social and also organizational problem like salary and also changing the way of trainings for routine to special (sic)’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

5.3.6 Summary

This situational needs assessment set out to evaluate existing incentive teacher training initiatives, discern the barriers affecting female uptake, and test if a fast-track alternative was viable. The findings demonstrate that there are several piecemeal initiatives ongoing within the camps which have little to no official documentation and are not visibly embedded within refugee education policy in Ethiopia. One initiative – which we called the ‘main’ initiative – was present across all the camps but not in a uniform way. Opinions were polarized on the initiative. On the one hand, participants recognised the importance, and urgency, of training refugees to become teachers, and to be able to earn a salary. But, on the other hand, incentive teachers were paid a paltry wage which, these findings have shown, was impossible to survive on. Such a disincentive was a major barrier to uptake and retention of incentive teaching and was suggested as affecting the quality of education delivered in ARRA primary schools.

Opinions on the training were also divided. Incentive teachers tended to be more complimentary of the training, stating it was much needed and relevant. But, most other participant groups were more critical – highlighting its piecemeal nature, its inconsistencies and that the recruits were not given a scholarship/bursary to cover training costs. There also seemed to be no official documentation for the main initiative, including training manuals, and no visible policy trail. This made it difficult for the incentive and drop-out teachers to discern if it was TTC Educators and/or INGOs/NGOs who had provided their training in-camp. The training was also criticised for not being specifically designed for refugees. Instead, incentive teachers were ‘invited’ along to national teacher training, where incentive teachers reported feeling excluded and unwanted.

The discrepancy with remuneration rates for refugee incentive teachers and Ethiopian nationals was also discussed at length. At present, a two-tier system exists whereby two types of teacher receive inordinately different salaries for similar workloads and teaching responsibilities. These internal barriers acted as disincentives to several of the female refugees interviewed. Some young girls were interested in the initiative, yet the persistence of external barriers was working to ensure that young

girls did not reach grade 10 in school, or were unable to attend the training sessions in the TTCs. As a result, a fast-track option is not the answer. It may well be an option at some point in the future, but the flaws and barriers to existing initiatives must be dealt with first. Thus, this study re-advocates that it is essential to overcome these internal and external barriers to ensure more eligible female refugees enrol on the main initiative. But, it also indicates that this initiative needs an overhaul, which will be explored in Part C. It is to Part C this report now turns.

6. Part C of Findings - Interventions to Address Barriers

As detailed in the literature review and Parts A and B, incentive teacher training initiatives were introduced to give refugees the opportunity to teach in refugee camps. This was an intervention to improve the quality of teaching in the refugee camps and to provide refugees with teaching prospects²⁰². However, the findings from this report clearly show there are internal and external barriers which impede female refugees from taking advantage of such initiatives. This chapter, Part C of our findings, explores the interventions that currently exist in these same refugee camps to tackle these barriers; and cumulatively brings together suggested interventions by the participant groups to overcome such barriers.

To do this, this chapter is broken down into four subthemes: (i) existing interventions to tackle external barriers; (ii) suggested interventions to tackle external barriers; (iii) existing interventions to address internal barriers, and (iv) suggested interventions to address internal barriers. As in previous sections, these subthemes are broken down into further subthemes to ensure clear findings and that appropriate recommendations can be made from them.

6.1 Existing interventions to tackle external barriers

Part A outlined several prevalent socio-cultural barriers that are materially affecting girls and women's lives in the refugee camps; including their ability to attend school and/or enrol on the main incentive teacher training initiative. This section studies existing interventions that are in place to combat these barriers. These are highlighted to isolate what provision is already in place so that any future interventions can take these into consideration and potentially support them.

6.1.1 GBV and FGM

The findings demonstrated that refugee camps in the Benishangul-Gumuz, Somali and Afar regions had existing NGO provision to tackle GBV and FGM. In Somali, an NGO called RADO were providing some provision on GBV and domestic abuse:

‘We have a project here called ‘Referral Pathway’. There is a prevention officer and a response officer. I am a prevention officer. I do prevention before something happens. I do trainings for those who live in the camp. For volunteering representatives. For men's groups. To not be a

²⁰² UNESCO (2019) ‘Teaching refugees in Ethiopia: when the teacher is also a refugee.’ UNESCO News 4 October 2019. Available online at: <http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en/teaching-refugees-ethiopia-when-teacher-also-refugee-9163>

perpetrator (of sexual and gender-based violence). So, we give trainings for this (sic) kinds of things, in the camp. And the response officer – she is a girl – the girls come to her. If I am in that position – I am a man – she will talk to me and she will do the referral pathway. They will come to us and due to confidentiality, if they need protection, we will give it to them – ARRA protection. If they need materials – like soap and women’s things – we will give them. We do have the materials here at the office. If they need money or something like that, we will send them to UNHCR. ARRA also has a refuge centre here’ (NGO worker, Somali).

‘Now, we are working on a prevention. We are working on SASA project. SASA stands for Start Awareness Support and Action. We started this project last year. Its aim is to balance power between males and females’ (NGO worker, Somali).

This was described as a successful programme that was beginning to embed itself within the camp. NGO workers from RADO also promoted their current awareness raising campaign:

‘We announced in the camps, and we posted an advert asking who wanted to work for their community. Help their community. If they respond, we will interview them to see their attitude and their knowledge towards SGBV and the balance of power between males and females. We will nominate them. We do have now twenty community activists and also 20 community action groups. This is about raising awareness’ (NGO worker, Somali).

In one of the Afar camps, the DEC²⁰³ was already providing a ‘School Related Gender Based Violence’ (SRGBV) programme (NGO worker, Afar). This was introduced after:

‘A political leader of the region (host Community) was giving lessons on female genital mutilation but after few times he did the practice on his own child. This political impact is slowing down the necessary changes that should be brought for young girls in both the refugee and host community’ (NGO worker, Afar).

As a result, the SRGBV’s aim was to: ‘To mitigate the challenges that is imposed on young girls’ (ibid). This programme involved awareness raising and training on the harms of FGM and how it violates young girls’ human rights. The NGO worker also noted that ‘clan leaders and other senior members of the community were not happy providing such trainings to girls’ (ibid). The main reason for this disgruntlement was that ‘community members assumed that the organization [DEC] is making girls to resist husbands in their life’ (ibid). This resulted in a cultural clash between the DEC and the refugee community, with some community members responding by not sending their daughters to primary school in case they received such or similar training from the DEC or other NGOs.

²⁰³ Development Expertise Centre which was discussed in Part B.

In Benishangul-Gumuz, the International Rescue Committee (IRC) was reported by the young girls and camp leaders as providing training and training centres for GBV. Some of the young girls discussed going ‘to IRC to find some support’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz). The IRC was also running interventions on reproductive health and WASH programmes specifically for girls. It was here some young girls and incentive teachers could access free sanitary products. According to one of the camp leaders, this female-focussed provision was expanding and was offering training ‘About early marriage and all these related things’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). This camp leader also stated ‘some [other] organisations here are running things like this. Women’s issues. That women should be decision-makers’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) but did not provide the names of other NGOs providing this.

6.1.2 Integrating refugee and host communities

Tensions between host and refugee communities were recorded across all regions, especially Gambella and Somali where there was ‘clan fighting’ (ARRA officials, Gambella and Somali). In the Afar region the relationship between host and refugee communities appeared different, with ‘cohesion’ (Interview notes, NGO worker, Afar) between them. One NGO worker claimed this was at least partially due to the intervention of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY) and its social services commission (DASSC). In one camp it developed an integrated protection plan designed to integrate both communities. According to the same NGO worker, this was achievable because the refugees share ‘the same culture, religion, ethnic, language as host community’ (Interview notes, NGO worker, Afar). Due to this positive relationship, refugees were able to attend host community secondary schools as there were no secondary schools in this refugee camp.

There were also health benefits to this cohesion/integration. The intervention had also helped refugees access medical help from the host community with little friction. The NGO worker referred to the relationships between the refugees and host communities as networks and partnerships which ‘shared opinions, ideas...exchange...it is interactive in a lot of things’ (Interview Notes, NGO worker, Afar). An NGO worker in the Somali region underscores how such integration work should be mainstream across the camps:

‘Any project which focus on refugee should also be integrated with the host community program. A program which only focusing on refugees will not be successful if it is not integrated. A good example for integrating programs is CRRF²⁰⁴. CRRF is a program which is implemented by UNICEF and it started to solve implementation gaps happening before between host and refugee community’ (NGO worker, Somali).

²⁰⁴ The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, introduced in the literature review / chapter 2.

These findings show how NGO interventions can help break down external barriers which can, in the long-term, positively affect refugee girls and women's lives.

6.1.3 Equality, diversity and social change

In both the Benishangul-Gumuz camps, the Refugee Central Committee (RCC) and some INGOs had been working together for several years to tackle equality, diversity and social change issues within the camps. The outcomes of this work were reflected in the current structures of the RCC in the camps:

'You know, in the RCC, if you look at our structure we have so many people from community based organisations here. In the RCC, we have women's organisations. We also have youth associations. We have a peace committee. And then we have a religious committee. And then we have an association for people with special needs. We have so many of them. Now, the Christians and Muslims are represented there. When we have meetings, they are involved. So, that is what we have been doing' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Although this work appears as very inclusive and suggests there have been some great successes in overcoming issues relating to equality and diversity, this same camp leader was adamant more work had to be done:

'Also, culturally and religiously... the Muslims do not allow their ladies to socialise in the community. They are very strict. The woman have to wear this long turban... the hijab.. they have to follow the tradition. Even in the RCC, our colleagues who are Muslim women, sometimes they are prohibited coming to the office to work with us. Their husbands don't allow them to come to the offices and go to the market. You know, they are being kept at home, to work as housewives. This violates their social rights. We have been talking about their husbands with the IRC, that it is not good that their husbands bar their women from their social rights. Even their economic and political rights. They are elected at RCC members as they must participate in the activities of the RCC. So, we are working on that with the IRC. We are doing a massive awareness campaign' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The inroads that the RCC and the IRC have made are clear – Muslim women were putting themselves forward to work / volunteer with the RCC and NGOs. But, they were still facing external barriers – including husband disapproval - which has impinged on their agency and rights. Both the IRC and RCC agreed that training and awareness raising *for men* on equality and social rights was necessary for long-term social change. This conclusion came from previous attempts at working together to overcome these same barriers, but these attempts had been met with resistance by the refugee community:

‘Now and then there is this conflict of interest between the community and the organisations which are here to provide services. That is another problem. The organisations in the camp are trying their best to help the women and girls here. But, still, they are facing obstacles’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The backlash from the community was described as particularly acute when the RCC and/or NGO interventions targeted young and teenage girls:

‘And here in the camp – culture wise as we are talking about culture – you have recreation centres for the girls. Places where they can go, go there together to express themselves. But, most of the time, we face a lot of problems. And especially from our community who came from rural areas. They tell the girls: ‘You are going there (to the schools and recreational centres) and learning other things which are not part of our culture. Which is harmful to our society. So, you can’t do those things’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The power and influence of religious leaders – and the social and cultural norms they espouse – was regarded as one of the most pressing external barriers that young girls and women face in the camps. The training these girls received in these recreation centres was described as rights-based, and covered a multitude of issues:

‘The other thing also, what I also see, is with the recreation centres we are creating here. We try to teach those girls and women about their lives. Now I can see women, at least they know they have rights. Although their rights are limited. But, they have rights and are accessing different services. Services that they previously couldn’t access within the camp. If you take for example family planning. It was difficult to talk about family planning before. But, at this time, at least one can go there for counselling, they get advice, and they get family planning. This is a great improvement. This is part of a movement from the previous ways until now’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Unfortunately, the girls’ attendance had been dropping off in the recreation centres. The camp leader claims this was due to the influence of religion and religious leaders in the camps:

‘The Muslim community, most of the time, they don’t allow their girls to go to these places. Because they say it is against their religious beliefs. So, they will not allow the girls to continue with these things’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Although the IRC and the RCC had ‘teamed-up’ to tackle this issue yet again with a more targeted awareness raising campaign underpinned in a rights-based approach, the camp leaders were sceptical that things would change rapidly:

‘What I see here is that the organisations here [INGOs and NGOs] are not changing the culture. They are only trying to stop harmful cultural practices. But, the community leaders do not understand this work. They don’t understand the aims and objectives of those organisations and service providers. We have to learn from each other. I always compare myself to other people in the community in this camp. But, if I am doing something that is not seen as right by my community, sometimes I see that as good. For example, if I take one community in the camp. I lived with them for a long time. And most of the time, this is what they used to say: ‘We are few and we have to breed more. We have to have children.’ So, you will see very young girls pregnant and already having children. Because no one has told them about education or anything else. They were told to reproduce and get married. Though they have been here for a long time, this community still has this ideology. So, how is the organisations supposed to change this? They can talk about things, but it is the community structures. If we are serious about change, we need to do something about it. Especially in specific communities. We have to be more serious about this work. We must try to things and change things’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

6.1.4 Importance of education

It emerged from the findings that INGOs, NGOs, ARRA and RCCs across most regions were running their own campaigns on the importance of education for children²⁰⁵:

‘At closing ceremonies we saw students were not participating well so we were trying to have campaigns in the community for students at the beginning, middle and end of the academic year...Back to School campaigns...trying to increase community engagement’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

‘And the RCC, we call meeting with the elders, the religious leaders and ask them how we can help their daughters to go to schools. To learn different things because they should not be kept from an education. And they should be able to play in the playing grounds here. These are the problems that we always see’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

In Part B, evidence highlighted that the numbers of children attending primary and secondary school were increasing, including the numbers of young girls enrolling in secondary schools. These results could likely be, at least in part, attributed to these campaigns. Another camp leader in the Benishangul-Gumuz region added that training sessions have been most successful, and had the best outcomes, when the IRC, RCC and ARRA work together:

²⁰⁵ Not always focusing on young girls, however. Most of the interventions were targeting refugee children as one social group.

‘The changes are due to the training that the IRC and RCC have been doing. So many trainings with the parents, with the guardians and the caregivers. They have been conducting training with them. They have been delivering training to parents, and women and children in particular. About education and... about their basic rights. And also at the RCC we have been talking with the community. ARRA and all of us... this has impacted on the community and, in some cases, has broke the chain’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Whilst rights-based interventions can cause friction with more traditional community members, this extract demonstrates that they can work and produce positive outcomes. This particular camp leader had come under fire for this commitment; but was steadfast to it because it produced such outcomes. This situational needs assessment was also regarded by this same camp leader as having the potential to deepen rights-based approaches across the camp:

‘The other thing, we are lucky that you have come... then you can advocate for us. I know that, sometimes, I am disliked when I talk about all these issues. These human rights issues. They say that I am too political. Which is not true – I am not a politician. But, I’m talking about what is supposed to be done. The rights of others should be protected. These organisations are here because of us. They are here because of refugees. These agencies here. But, if they don’t do what is supposed to be done, or what they are supposed to be doing, then why are they here? It’s not ok that they are here’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

This extract draws attention to the inherent power and influence of INGOs within the camp, and asks them to commit to more rights-based approaches to challenge both the internal and the external barriers that female refugees face. There is a conundrum facing both the NGOs and INGOs in the camps: how can they balance respecting traditional cultural values but also apply a rights-based approach to combat arguably harmful practices against women? The United Nations Conventions on the Rights of a Child (UNCRC) (1989)²⁰⁶ stipulates that FGM, GBV and girls foregoing primary education to work, whether inside or outside the home, is a violation of their basic rights. Still, this research study has highlighted that applying a rights-based approach across the refugee camps can cause tension and conflict, which resulted in some community members refusing to allow their daughters to attend school. This was in case they received any rights-based training which was viewed as disrespecting traditional cultural and social values. Academic research also demonstrates that riding roughshod over existing social and cultural values in favour of rights-based approaches to help young girls can, in fact, contribute more to their marginalisation (cf. Burman, 1996²⁰⁷; Brosnan, 2016²⁰⁸).

²⁰⁶ <https://www.unicef.org.uk/what-we-do/un-convention-child-rights/>

²⁰⁷ Burman, E. (1996) ‘Local, Global or Globalized? Child Development and International Rights Legislation’. *Childhood* 3: 44-66

²⁰⁸ Brosnan, M.J. (2016) ‘Different Childhoods, Different Ethnographies: Encounters in Rwanda.’ In C. Allerton (ed) *Children: Ethnographic Encounters*. London: Taylor and Francis.

This study suggests that ARRA, INGOs, NGOs and RCCs need to continue working closely together to design more interventions that work to overcome this problem in a respectful way.

This section will now move on to explore interventions suggested by the participants to tackle external barriers in the camp which can affect young girls and women's uptake of incentive teacher training opportunities.

6.2 Suggested interventions to tackle external barriers

Most of the suggestions concerned training and awareness raising campaigns for selected participant groups on a range of issues. This section will now explore the four most discussed.

6.2.1 GBV and FGM

Similar to the findings in section 6.1, awareness raising and training on the harmful effects of FGM and GBV were reported as important and were recommended interventions. As Part A outlined, both were classed as 'harmful traditional practices which is (sic) hampering girls from going to schools' (NGO worker, Afar). To successfully mitigate these barriers, both NGOs and ARRA were advised to target 'clan leaders and other senior community members' to get them 'on-side' to 'educate the general public' (ARRA official, Afar). But, section 6.1 showcased just how difficult a task this is, especially with resistance from influential community leaders have traditional social and cultural values that they are reluctant to change. In the Somali region, an NGO worker discussed at length how difficult it is to implement such work in the refugee camps:

'Now – in this new year – we don't have training for the religious leaders. We already gave different trainings about women and men equality. And basic concepts around gender-based violence. This training was very difficult to give to the religious leaders. They don't accept it. We tried to show how damaging some practices are, and the challenges associated with these. But, they don't accept it. They say 'We believe our religion and you and other organisations are giving training outside of the religion, so we don't accept it... In this area it is difficult to give equality to women. They don't accept it. I am constantly surprised by this and in the future, I don't know if they will accept it' (NGO worker, Somali).

Ok. There needs (to be) more awareness campaigns. Especially with religious leaders and community elders. Trainings for them. They believe they are right, because they follow the religion. Women should be in the house and men have power. I think this Somali community believe totally in the religion. So, all the campaigns, all this awareness campaigns, need to focus on religion. And target

elders. Also, we need trainings for the police and court. They will support the man and tell the woman to go back to her husband' (NGO worker, Somali).

Across camps, it was reported that religion was central to solve this conundrum. As discussed here and in section 6.1, religious leaders were deemed to have substantive influence and power over the refugee communities. Several of the religious leaders we interviewed – either in KIIs or in FGDs – were supportive of using the church/mosque as a platform to raise awareness of the importance of education: 'Protestant churches they have powerful to convince the young girls to be incentive teachers and to create awareness to the communities tolerate the girls in order to follow religious and modern education side by side' (Religious leader, Gambella). But, tensions could still arise: 'there could be some tension between girls' religious convictions and pursuit of 'modern education' (Religious leader, Gambella). Increased partnership working between the churches/mosques, the RCCs, ARRA and INGOs/NGOs - and the proliferation of large awareness raising campaigns and training - were steadily viewed as key methods to overcome this barrier.

6.2.2 Gender equality

Echoing 8.2.1, awareness raising and training were suggested as the best means of tackling gender inequality in the refugee camps. A programme to train men and raise their awareness of how gender inequality harms girls and women was most requested:

'The measure that could be taken is working on empowering women in the community. It is also important to involve participation of men in addressing the challenges happening to girls' (ARRA official, Afar).

'... creating awareness to their husbands which may take time but must be focused on, modeling the husbands that are supporting their wives in taking advantage of the opportunity' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'Men should get training to leave there (sic) wives to do what they want' (Young girl, Gambella).

Also requested were programmes to help young girls and women with their domestic burden. Some participants supported training men in the importance of helping out with household chores: 'To increase number of female teachers [husbands/men must] help them in the household chores' (Camp leader, Gambella). Similar programmes were also requested for parents, who, as Part A illustrated, often first put pressure on young girls to do domestic chores at the expense of going to school / doing their homework. As a result, 'The whole community need come together and reach an agreement to build trust between young girls and their parents for betterment of their life' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Technology to help refugee girls and females with their domestic chores was also suggested. For example, ‘energy saving ovens to save significant time spent on searching fire wood’ (ARRA official, Gambella). As Part A indicated, young girls and female incentive teachers spend *a lot* of time undertaking domestic duties, including childcare. In line with these participant recommendations, this situational needs assessment calls for ARRA, INGOs, NGOs and RCCs to work together on solutions that would help refugee girls and women with their domestic chores, so they could more carefully consider incentive teacher training opportunities within the camps.

6.2.3 Importance of education

Although section 6.1 outlined that there was already awareness raising campaigns to provide the importance of education and schooling, there was a consensus across the participant groups that this, on its own, was not enough. In fact, more should be done to encourage young girls to attend school. ARRA officials acknowledged this: ‘Educating about importance of sending girls to primary school’ (ARRA official, Afar) and ‘Giving awareness to the general public about the importance of sending young girls to school’ (ARRA official, Afar). Another ARRA suggested setting up ‘a community and parent day frequently at the school level and camp level which can help in meeting the community and teaching them about the importance of females education’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Once again, the importance of involving key players – such as religious, camp and clan leaders – in these awareness raising, and training, campaigns were crucial:

‘[A way to overcome this barrier is by] Giving continuous awareness to community leaders: religious leaders/clan leaders/ community representatives...they can give awareness [about importance of sending girls to school]’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘training the camp leaders that they can create awareness to the community how important educating the young girls is, and they community have to get awareness on the importance of education’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The RCC, with their vast connections and networks across each camp (ARRA official, Afar) were regarded as key players in coordinating these activities. One RCC member was very transparent, however, in how difficult a task this was:

‘These girls will come from poor backgrounds with scarce education... no city life with only life in rural areas. It is rare to get parents to tell their children that school is important. They don’t tell them that they are supposed to go to school, that schooling is important for this, this and this reasons. I don’t think this kind of idea is in the camp. Because if the parents are not educated they cannot inform their children about the importance of school. Most of the time the parents send their children to school because others are going there. They tell them to wake up and then go to school. The parents

don't prepare for their children to go to school. If you stand here on the street, you will see how they are' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

This extract highlights again how embedded these external barriers are, and the importance of patience in combatting these. The cultural influence in these camps appears to be deep-rooted and needs both time to change and appropriately timed, and planned, interventions so they are overcome.

6.2.4 Stop CFEM

Across the regions there was a call to halt the practice of young girls marrying prematurely. Once again, awareness raising campaigns and training were suggested as necessary interventions:

'Early marriage has to be stopped, there needs to be awareness creation in the community about the adverse effect of... Parents need to strictly advise their children to first pursue educational attainments and convince them to marry later because "marriage will not go anywhere"' (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'The problem is the household. The parents also need to be aware. They have no backgrounds in education. They let their children drop-out of school. They know no one will ask them why their children do not go to school. They tell their children they should be married, and that girls should stay in the home. These are the things I see, myself. This always affects us in the camp' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'The culture of dowry and early marriage has to be reduced through community mobilization and awareness creation' (Camp leader, Gambella).

As discussed in Parts A and B, CFEM (and childbirth) were significant factors in the drop-out of young girls from school and young girls / females in the main incentive teacher training initiative. 'Raising community awareness related to cultural issues... such as early marriage' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz) was deemed necessary to attract and retain more female incentive teachers. Part A also highlighted the intersections between poverty and the culture of dowry, which can often nudge parents to marry their daughters off early even though this arguably may not be in their daughter's best long-term interests. Thus, awareness raising and training campaigns to tackle early marriage and the culture of dowry must also encompass strategies and interventions to tackle poverty in the camps. Without the latter, the former interventions are unlikely to be sustainable.

6.2.5 Summary

Sections 6.1 and 6.2 have focussed on the interventions that are currently in place, or have been suggested across the camps, to tackle the external barriers that young girls and potential / actual

female incentive teachers face in the refugee camps. Section 6.1 highlights that there are several intervention programmes that are directly tackling external barriers; especially GBV; FGM; integrating refugee and host communities; equality, diversity and social change, and the importance of education. Whilst these interventions – mostly by INGOs, NGOs and RCCs working in partnership – appear to be making a difference to young girls and women’s lives in the camps, some socio-cultural factors remain embedded within the camps which makes social change difficult to achieve.

The most successful, but challenging, programmes were reported as those that work directly with the power holders in the camps, i.e. religious, camp and clan leaders. But, the increasingly rights-based approaches regularly came into conflict with the more traditional social and cultural values in the refugee communities. As a result, some participants called for future interventions programmes that work to build up trust and collaboration between the RCCs, INGOs, NGOs and the community leaders to slowly, and respectfully, introduce the perspectives of young girls and women into these debates to shape socio-cultural practices within the camps.

Both awareness raising campaigns and training – especially for men – were isolated as key methods to tackle these external barriers within each of the camps. It was widely suggested that doing this would help in the recruitment and retention of eligible refugee females into incentive teacher training initiatives within the camps. This chapter now turns to the existing interventions already in place to tackle internal barriers.

6.3 Existing interventions to address internal barriers

Part B of our findings highlighted several systemic barriers that were impeding young girls from enrolling on the main incentive teacher training initiative and impacting on existing female incentive teachers in the camps, causing some of them to leave the profession. This section focuses on what interventions²⁰⁹ have already been put in place to combat these barriers and compresses all the suggestions made by the participant groups to improve the main initiative to overcome such barriers.

6.3.1 Providing educational infrastructure

Part B stressed that all camps reported a scarcity of educational resources. An NGO worker in the Afar region stated this problem is ‘very serious’ and that the refugee camps could not ‘solve this problem [without assistance]’. There were several INGOs and/or NGOs all running programmes and/or projects to resolve this scarcity of resources, but ‘mostly NGOs don’t have the capacity to solve the problem’ (NGO worker, Afar). This opinion was largely shared across the camps.

²⁰⁹ With the exception of the main incentive teacher training initiative which was explored in Part B.

However, in this same camp, a religious organisation EECMY²¹⁰ had received significant funding from the EU to run three interconnected programmes on Education, Livelihoods and Capacity Building (Interview notes, NGO worker, Afar). All three programmes were ‘working mainly with primary schools’ (ibid) but some of the funds had been filtered to a project to help refugees attend secondary school:

‘There is no secondary school in this refugee camp...so after completing primary education, they must go to secondary school in the host community...this involves 24km per day...in a hard climate [sometimes the temp reaches 45-50 degrees]...Big problem...no option to attend secondary school in their camp so some will drop out...due to harsh climate it is very difficult to attend their education in a good manner...This project started in 2017-EU funded by trust fund...they try to organise transport from the refugee camp to the secondary school.

Amazingly, since this project was implemented, there has been no absenteeism/drop out when before this it was 85%...but it is a matter of sustainability because the project is to be phased out in 3 months’ time: What is the future going to be?’ (NGO worker, Afar).

This example showcases a successful outcome that came from a timely and much needed intervention. As explored in Parts A and B, drop-out is a serious problem affecting all refugee camps. Yet, this project – which was *reducing* drop-out rates – will be phased out by the time this report is published. This will unquestionably have a negative effect on drop-out rates and will adversely affect eligible students who plan to progress to secondary school this year.

In another camp in the Afar region, the DEC²¹¹ had also run education projects. In 2018 the DEC constructed one block in the refugee primary school in this camp that was fully furnished with chairs with tables and blackboards. This constructed block was then handed over to ARRA (Interview notes, NGO worker, Afar). The DEC also ran ‘capacity Development for teachers, students, school directors and PTAs (Parent-Teacher-Student Associations)’ (NGO worker, Afar). These were regarded as successful projects in the camp (ARRA official, Afar).

These findings underscore the difference that well-timed, well-funded and much needed interventions can make in refugee camps. We recommend that programmes and projects that focus on increasing educational infrastructure and capacity, including transport to and from the secondary *and* primary schools, are financially supported to combat the external and internal barriers this report has outlined. These must exceed the funding of the ECW grant which, these findings have shown, have barely scraped the surface of addressing infrastructural needs in the camps. Where this provision doesn’t already exist, we recommend that such programmes and projects are introduced.

²¹⁰ Which was introduced in section 6.1.

²¹¹ Development Expertise Centre as discussed in section 6.1.

6.3.2 Literacy and language programmes

Part B identified literacy and language barriers between teachers and students as pervasive in primary schools. Literacy and language barriers were also a burden for eligible and existing female incentive teachers, with more language provision and support requested across the camps. Although the NRC, British Council and the IRC were providing some additional English language support to incentive teachers on camp²¹², there appeared to be no additional provision for young girls or aspiring female incentive teachers. To combat this, and other related issues, since 2011 the RCC, in one camp, had started constructing private but voluntary-run schools:

‘But, what we do as refugee leaders is we have started three private schools in the camp. I have a private school that teaches English. And we done this, we opened these schools to cover the gap. We don’t want that people are detained, that have not passed their examinations... prohibited from studying further. We want them to come and learn, to go to English school. They’ll be able to learn communicative skills, writing skills – the basic skills in English. So, they will be able to get jobs with international organisations’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘They started differently. Some started in 2012. And some earlier than that. 2011. And they are working very well. Even if you compare them with primary and secondary schools they are – they have a big number of students at them, these private schools. We don’t feel well, when we see that our community needs help. When we see that people have failed. We don’t feel well. We don’t want to see people sit idle in the market, be involved in drugs... drug abuse. It can bring security problems to the camp so we don’t feel good about this. We have to help our fellow people... or fellow men and women. To at least learn some skills... communicative skills. So, we are doing this ourselves... it is voluntary. Sometimes we charge something... minimum. Like 25 Birr per person per month. To buy chalks, and to buy the text books. Those kinds of things because we are not receiving money from anywhere’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Part A outlined that a worrying number of young girls *and* boys were not passing the secondary school entrance exam as it was perceived as ‘difficult’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). This can have far-reaching consequences in refugee children’s future outcomes²¹³. These private schools were not being funded externally and had been historically relying on volunteer teachers to run the classes; usually suitably qualified and experienced RCC members: ‘Nobody funds them [the private schools].

²¹² This was explored at length in Part B.

²¹³ UNHCR (2001) *Learning for a Future: Refugee Education in Developing Countries*. Available online at: <https://www.unhcr.org/4a1d5ba36.pdf>

It is an individual effort. People who have gone to university, who have trained to be a teacher... we feel that we have to help our communities' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

The RCC's strong networks and experience in working in partnership ensured that most of the educational supplies – including teaching and learning materials – were supplied by INGOs and NGOs within and out with the camp. Overall, these schools were considered successful, but very much dependent on already pressed-for-time people's goodwill. A recommendation is that these schools – and the planning and construction of other schools like them – are financially supported to give refugee children a second chance to complete their education and to not live with literacy and language issues so they improve their future outcomes.

6.3.3 Positive discrimination

Parts A and B illustrated that, as a whole, young girls were not aware of the main incentive teacher training initiative and that several incentive and drop out teachers had to go to their regional TTC to find out how to enrol on a teacher training programme. But, according to ARRA in the Gambella region, some positive discrimination has been used to target eligible girls, but with only limited success:

'When they post vacancies in camp we write primarily for females...so they are aware...'
(ARRA official, Gambella).

'We are trying (ARRA) to increase the number of girls...we are trying to mobilise the girls but we are not finding them-they have their families...they are married...In the camp, there were vacancies posted for 113 incentive teachers, only 5 girls were interviewed' (ARRA official, Gambella).

'We post vacancies for incentive teachers in camp...we wrote that priority for female students...'
(ARRA official, Gambella).

Due to the incentive teacher strikes in the Gambella camps, it was not yet possible to discern if this positive discrimination had successfully recruited female incentive teachers. But, again, the young girls interviewed in Gambella were, on the whole, unaware of the initiative. Therefore, this situational needs assessment advocates that there is not enough awareness of the main incentive teacher training initiative to facilitate positive discrimination in its recruitment process. First, this initiative must be better promoted, which the next section discusses in more depth.

6.4 Suggested interventions to address internal barriers

Whilst the participants offered many suggestions to improve the main incentive teacher training initiative, it was stressed across participant groups that, first, external challenges must be addressed: ‘All challenges could be improve before everything then quality teaching training could be provide for females’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz) and ‘We are refugee and have more barriers/difficulties so solve those existing barriers’ (Parent, Afar). Part C has taken these factors into consideration by outlining first the suggestions to tackle *external* barriers. Now this chapter moves on address participants’ suggestions for improving the main initiative to tackle the *internal*, systemic barriers within the initiative itself and within education system in the camps (primary schools) and the TTCs.

6.4.1 Raise awareness of the main initiative

It was universally agreed across all participant groups and camps that awareness of existing teacher training initiatives – primarily the ‘main’ initiative - must be raised: ‘Increase the community awareness’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘Providing trainings on the benefits of being an incentive teachers’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘Mobilizing the female teachers by showing them the importance of being an incentive teacher through camp leaders, community structures and religious institutions, encouraging them to continue their education and giving priority’ (Parent, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Discuss with the community about the advantage of female incentive teacher’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘Doing an awareness for the community about importance of sending girls to primary schools’ (NGO worker, Somali) and ‘Raise awareness among the community about the purpose and benefit of incentive teaching’ (Young girl, Gambella).

As Part B and sub-section 6.3.3 detailed, the existing recruitment strategy in place was not sufficiently attracting or selecting eligible young girls. These extracts indicate it is also not sufficiently reaching, or winning the approval of, key power holders in the community, i.e. parents, clan and religious leaders. Thus, to successfully raise awareness about the main incentive teacher training initiative, stress was placed on raising awareness on the importance of education (and having a profession / career) for young girls, and to have key power holder support this message. Still, it is also important to make sure that information can be effectively shared across networks:

‘... to overcome this barrier it is very important to create awareness to their community, working with the schools at the camp level, strengthening girls club, strengthening the organizations working on girls based violence. And the way to bring them to the opportunity is that collaborating with the schools to help girls to engage and giving priority to the girls. Which the informant also mentioned working with the schools can be the fast track to pick the girls and discussion with the community can also be another way. And this can help the program to

be successful because when you pass the information through schools and the community, the information can get the right girls directly and can help them to use the opportunity' [Interview Notes, NGO worker, Gambella).

This excerpt reveals the importance of partnership working and networking within the camps to successfully implement the main incentive teacher training initiative. These networks must also include the key power brokers in the community 'so they let women work' (Young girl, Gambella). This underscores once again the importance of tackling *both* internal and external barriers to attract eligible young female refugees to the initiative.

Using local media to raise awareness of the main initiative was also suggested. For example, 'Use the locally available media-Dagu-to just change the weak trend of girls participation in education' (ARRA official, Afar). These media campaigns were not just about educating young girls, but parents and the wider family too:

'One thing I would like to share is there is a need for a massive awareness campaign. In the camp. We need to give this to the parents, to tell them the importance of education. And that there is no problem sending a girl to school, to be a teacher. To tell them that if a girl goes to teacher training, it is not what they think. To tell them what really happens. That they do not share their rooms with men, and so on. They live separately. In different hostels. The parents need to be told all this. They need to be made aware of these things. And then these cultural barriers and traditions are harmful for girls. So, there is a need for a massive awareness campaign in the camp. For parents' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Female incentive teachers discussed finding this reality frustrating. As disclosed in Part B, existing incentive teachers were rarely kept-in-the-loop regarding the up-to-date developments and machinations of the main initiative. So, both young girls *and* existing female incentive teachers need to be aware of the programme and how young girls can enrol:

'First of all, the girls need to be aware of the programme. And then we can advise them [on how to enrol]. After we advise them, they will accept' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'As female teachers, we need to tell them what is good about being a teacher. Why it is important. If you are a teacher, you are helping people... you are good. Yet get a salary. We need to tell more women and girls. If they listen, then they will come here and teach at the school' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

'We need to advertise that we need female teachers. Posters [are a good way to advertise]' (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz),

Overall, powerful actors in the camps seem to be aware of the initiative but this knowledge rarely cascades down to key stakeholders, i.e. eligible female refugees. Awareness raising campaigns that are endorsed and promoted by key powerholders and permeate throughout extensive RCC networks in camp to reach all sectors were championed. This was regarded as a more effective way of recruiting eligible, or potentially eligible, female refugees into the initiative.

Finally, using powerful women as role models was discussed as an effective awareness raising campaign:

‘In this situation, we need a role model who will come out from the refugee camp. Someone the girls would know. We could talk about her and the girls would know who. She came out from the refugee camp and she became an American Senator. When I give trainings, I give them examples of people who have done well. Like that, they are a role model for this camp’ (NGO worker, Somali).

6.4.2 Re-design the initiatives as a cohesive programme

Part B of our findings has underlined there is ambiguity in defining existing incentive teacher training initiatives in the camps. This is largely due to these initiatives’ invisibility in refugee education policy in Ethiopia, a lack of official documentation defining the aims and objectives of the main initiative, and the unavailability of teacher training manuals for the main initiative at the TTCs and in the refugee camps. Such views were shared across the camps:

‘[ARRA and Ministry of Education] Need discussion with partners...everyone knows it but the main problem [with the initiative] is strategy’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘There needs to be a coordinated efforts between the government and IPs [international partners] to come up with long lasting solutions’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

‘It is good to first the world view of the refugee community and design the education curriculum accordingly. The curriculum is an imposed one which is being implemented which might be working for other communities but might not be working for a pastoralist community like the Afar’ (TTC Educator, Afar).

What is core in these responses is that the main initiative must be embedded in a strategy – ideally the MoE’s strategy for educating refugees, although our review of literature made it clear that they mainly delegate this activity to REBs and ARRA. ARRA officials indicated there was a memorandum of understanding between ARRA and the TTCs to include refugees in the TCCs (national] teacher

training provision²¹⁴, but no one had a copy of this document to hand or could provide one when requested after data collection. Going forward, a clear emphasis from these extracts is to include the voices of refugee communities and international partners (including INGOs) in the design of an official incentive teacher training programme that is part of a broader education for refugees / education in emergencies (EiE) portfolio. An ARRA official commented that the management of this programme needs to go beyond ARRA: ‘A good project needs to bring a lot of organisations together. We need a separate UNICEF organisation to manage these challenges...ARRA has so many other activities’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

Relatedly, another participant commented that an international partner managing a re-vamped version of this initiative could result in more funds which would result in better training: ‘the gov’t not funded for training [sic] but if NGOs work together the problem might solved’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). Part B outlined that several participants across regions had emphasized ARRA and the municipal government’s insufficient funds, most pressingly resulting in the late payment of incentive teachers’ salary, and trainees having to pay for their own food and accommodation when training at the TTCs. Again, this is surprising given the US\$15 million ECW funding and the US\$60 million from the World Bank²¹⁵. Despite this, it was suggested that having more international partners involved could help ‘paying for their accommodation before they move to the training place when the training is outside the camp area’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) and eradicate ‘the serious problem’ (NGO worker, Gambella) of late incentive payment. This situational needs assessment suggests there needs to be greater transparency regarding funding. From the review of literature, one could assume that the former would be funded by ECW and/or The World Bank, whereas the latter was funded by the UNHCR. But, this was not clear to the participants therefore we recommend more transparency.

Other significant modifications to the initiative were also proposed. One was to specifically recruit female drop-outs from primary school and finish their primary school education as part of the incentive teaching training initiative: ‘This could encourage young girls to join the incentive teaching scheme’ (NGO worker, Afar). This relates to calls to ‘minimize the selection criteria of female teachers... to give chance for girls for education’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz); ‘The girls and women in the camp don’t have the minimum qualifications to enter on to the programme: Selection criteria (qualification) must have minimize (sic)’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), and ‘Participants in the FGD indicated that there are few girls who are educated, it is difficult to find those young girls who completed primary school’ (Interview notes, Parents, Benishangul-Gumuz). As discussed in Part B, a version of this initiative had already existed where female refugees who had completed grade 8 were recruited. Based on the widespread nature of this view, our situational needs

²¹⁴ As was also discussed in the literature review – see Westfall (2018) and UNESCO (2019).

²¹⁵ These were discussed in the literature review.

assessment recommends that this suggestion of recruiting drop-out girls is taken into consideration in the re-design of this initiative.

Another noteworthy suggestion was targeting female pre-school teachers for recruitment to the initiative:

‘There are women who are teaching in pre-schools. If there is a possibility to train these women to teach in the ARRA school here, that would be good. One day, if they were trained, they may stay’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

There appeared to be quite a few female pre-school teachers providing early years education in the refugee camps²¹⁶. We never interviewed these teachers, but our findings suggest they faced ‘less discrimination’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) and ‘less workload’ (Drop-out teacher, Somali) than primary school teachers. In consequence, we recommend approaching these pre-school teachers to potentially upskill into a more cohesively designed incentive teacher training initiative or, ideally, programme.

Finally, to recruit more female incentive teachers maternity leave policy must be embedded within the initiative / programme: ‘Increase maternity leave when they [female incentive teachers] give birth. Even if a female incentive teacher is pregnant she have to take enough rest at school’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). Not having this policy in place was claimed to be contributing to female incentive teachers leaving the vocation (Incentive teachers, Somali; Benishangul-Gumuz; Drop-out teacher, Somali).

6.4.3 Re-design and improve the quality of the training

Part B clearly delineated that the incentive teacher training needed improvement. The participants came up with a plethora of ideas of how to accomplish this. Most debated was the modular / subject content of the training. A range of subjects were considered as core. For example:

‘Pedagogical trainings, Induction program, Psychological trainings, Girls education’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella), ‘pedagogical training and community based approach training’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘How to make an engaging classroom, how to manage students, teaching lesson plan, methodology training and capacity building trainings are more important’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella), ‘Risk disaster programmes /school implementation programmes/Methodology/ Assessments’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘how to prepare lesson plan... and how to evaluate and measure students’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘life skill trainings’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Pedagogics. Minimum learning competency. Formal learning. Lesson plan preparation.

²¹⁶ These early years education centres were run by different INGOs/NGOs depending on the camp.

English language skill. Life skill training’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Assessment for learning, Refresher TOT [Training of Trainers], Actual teacher training, Active teaching and learning, Social and emotional learning’ (TTC Educator, Somali), ‘Conduct trainings for females to make them [young girls] self-confident and support them interested to become incentive teacher’, ‘Conduct Peer to peer trainings among girls’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz), and ‘The training should focus in capacity building. The training should also challenge them in good way to use their potential’ (ARRA official, Benshangul-Gumuz).

Whilst some of these training subjects / modules were mentioned in Part B as already included in the initiative, they were not as broad as suggested here. These suggestions place focus on the importance of developing soft-skills and provision for females *only* due to an emphasis that girls need to support each other and that training should be specially tailored for them to help them overcome their self-confidence and self-esteem issues. Another key recommendation was to create an incentive teacher training programme that was *specific* to refugees had foundations in psycho-social issues and training, English language acquisition, student behavioural management and understanding EiE contexts. As Part B illustrated, the current training curriculum is piecemeal parts of the teacher training designed for national teachers. This resulted in the training being evaluated as not-fit-for-purpose.

Part B also evaluated that the delivery of the training was confusing and unsatisfactory. There were a range of opinions on how to improve this delivery. More generally, there were requests for ‘long term’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella), ‘continuous’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘in regular intervals’ (Religious leader, Gambella) and ‘frequent’ training (Incentive teacher, Gambella). There were also specific requests to significantly reshape the delivery:

‘The contents should focus on methodology and methods of assessment for their students. Their capacity should be strengthened in short term trainings which could be a lot of times while they are teaching. Formal trainings should also be provided when the teachers are on a semester break. This could be done in cooperation with the teachers training college’ (NGO worker, Afar).

‘Also with the trainings. The trainings need to be brought to the camp. Instead of Shire (TTC). It can be done here. The lectures, the seminars can be done here. That would be very good’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘In such trainings first a TOT [training of trainers] is given for tutors who work in teachers’ college [TTC]. The training might be for about three days. These tutors then provided the trainings for three days to four key national teachers, one supervisor plus all the incentive teachers’ (TTC Educator, Somali).

As this situational needs assessment concentrates on the barriers that young female refugees - who are potential female incentive teachers - face, the suggestions embedded in both the first and the second excerpt chime with the reported needs of this group. As a result, we would suggest that the training is delivered in-camp for female incentive teachers – which will be discussed further in sub-section 6.4.5. Other more female-centered propositions were: ‘instructing the female teachers/ giving them the lesson plan before the starting of the school’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz) and ‘supporting them [female incentive teachers] in the way they want’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). As detailed in Part B, the female incentive teachers not only called for more consistent training but also mentoring. One ARRA official suggested an ‘Experience sharing program between experienced teachers and fresh teachers’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz) to be the initial stages of a mentoring programme embedded within the initiative. The same ARRA official recommended that female incentive teachers be consistently assessed for training and that it was ARRA’s duty to ‘assess their need and take (sic) on it’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Finally, there was significant demand for producing training manuals that the incentive teachers could take home, and to find means to ‘update them on new guidelines’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz). With internet and mobile connectivity issues prevailing across most camps, ARRA officials and primary school directors would need to take the lead in assuring that this information reached the incentive teachers in a timely fashion.

6.4.4 Increase the incentive payment

A central part of Part B was the widespread view that the incentive payment was unacceptably low. By far, the most requested alteration to the main initiative:

‘Increasing salary of the incentive teachers from current level which is 900 Birr a month to a reasonably higher one. This should be substantiated with a benefit package like providing sanitary materials, and supplying cosmetics... Incentive teachers should also be provided with a house which could encourage them to participate in the scheme’ (ARRA official, Afar).

‘Currently [the payment is] 805 birr. The difficulty for young girls in camp here is the lack of livelihood...they have no income source in their life...they need support so need to increase their payment’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

When asked how much the salary should be increased to, responses ranged from 3000 (TTC Educator, Afar) to 6000 (Parent, Afar) Birr. This payment would then be in-line with national teacher salaries (ibid; Drop-out teacher, Somali). National teachers were reported to be provided with a ‘benefits

package'²¹⁷ which was also requested for incentive teachers across the camps. The specifics of each participant's desired benefits package varied; but shelter, food, water and personal items such as sanitary products were most consistently asked for. In the hotter regions such as Gambella, Benishangul-Gumuz and Afar, 'umbrellas' were also requested (Incentive teacher, Gambella; Young girl, Afar): 'Distribute materials such as umbrella, modes and other hygiene and sanitation materials for female incentive teachers to motivate them and this may initiate other girls to become an incentive teacher' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

Increasing the salary was also deemed as fundamental to attracting young girls to incentive teaching and retaining existing teachers: 'Increase the salary for incentive teachers and giving another motivation for female incentive teachers' (Camp leader, Gambella), 'Increasing the salary can be one of the solutions to attract the young girls to the incentive opportunity' (NGO worker, Gambella), and 'Increase salary of incentive teachers this will motivate girls to become incentive teacher' (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). As detailed in Part B, the current salary was acting as a disincentive to both existing female incentive teachers and potential teachers, i.e. young girls. Once again, the salary must be increased to potentially increase female participation in available teacher training initiatives in the camps.

This increased salary must also be paid on time. The delayed payments in several regions and the strikes in Gambella were reported in Part B as major disincentives for both potential and existing incentive teachers. To reiterate, if a reformed incentive teacher training programme wishes to attract and retain eligible female refugees, it must pay them on time: 'The salary...it is not enough...They didn't get paid since 26th December...if you pay them a good salary, they will come and teach' (Camp leader, Gambella).

Relatedly, some participants suggested introducing a salary scale for incentive teachers. Part B highlighted that not only was the comparison in salaries between incentive and national teachers de-incentivising, but so was the finding that an untrained incentive teacher earned the same salary as a diploma qualified incentive teacher. With an increase in the incentive salary and the introduction of a salary scale for incentive teachers based on their 'qualification and experience' (Drop-out teacher, Somali), this could provide enough of an incentive to recruit, and retain, eligible females in the main incentive. This was also suggested by the UNHCR (nd)²¹⁸ and UNHCR (2015)²¹⁹

²¹⁷ In our secondary review of literature we could not ascertain the specifics of this package.

²¹⁸ UNHCR (nd) Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide. Available online at: <https://cms.emergency.unhcr.org/documents/11982/53527/UNHCR%2C+Refugee+Teacher+Management+-+Quick+Guide/f5844403-39c9-4093-997b-2466f7a0c04f>

²¹⁹ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018. Available [online] at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/62627>

A final recommendation related to payment was that refugee teachers are given the prospect ‘to work in the formal Ethiopian sector’ (Religious leader, Gambella). Incentive teachers invest a lot of time – and sometimes money with accumulating costs if they are training at the TTCs – to become qualified. However, this qualification is neither useful in their country of origin / home country nor in their host country, Ethiopia. Future designers of this initiative / programme need to ensure that the diploma certification awarded to refugee teachers is recognised both within and out with Ethiopia. This accreditation should be done in consultation with education policy makers in Ethiopia and in neighbouring countries. As Parts A and B reiterated, more eligible young girls and women would be attracted to the initiative if this recognised accreditation were in place.

6.4.5 Recruit females only and train them in camp

Another pervasive suggestion was to target females *only* in the recruitment for incentive teacher training initiatives. As presented in Part B and section 6.3, the recruitment strategy for the main initiative differed across regions and had different rates of success in attracting, and retaining, eligible young girls interested in becoming incentive teachers. As these findings combined demonstrate, there are substantive external and internal barriers that are working against the recruitment, and retention, of these girls. Many participants concluded that specifically targeting and recruiting young girls – and training them together inside the camps – was one of the better ways to ensure more female incentive teachers were present in the camps:

‘Limit the number of men teachers and increase the quota for young girls... Better to train and empower existing young girls more than men teachers in order to attract more young teachers’ (ARRA official, Gambella).

‘Sometimes they [ARRA] post that they are looking for men. They need to post they are looking for women... Jobs only for female teachers. That will help. If you want females alone, they will come’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘I think if government, NGO’s and colleges work together and build a place to only train female refugees with a better training ,material and support is the other way’ (ARRA official, Somali).

Yet, the issue remains that there are not enough eligible girls, at present, in the camps to be able to recruit enough females to the incentive teacher training initiative. To combat this, several participants suggested lowering the entrance criteria for refugee females to overcome this barrier:

‘Females are not competing with the male teachers in competence. They are not enough mature to compete with males. Teachers are employed by ARRR (sic), They post vacancies but there is criteria selection...for dome (sic) it is too high/needs basic skills which at this time, females do

not compute... They don't pass their exams...My advice is to simplify the criteria-give high emphasis to them ...give additional points...if the organisation thinks in detail, vacancies should ONLY consider female candidates to highly encourage female incentive teachers' (NGO worker, Afar).

'...female teachers needs to have education opportunities to be attracted to the teaching initiative and have to be given priority and the eligibility criteria for the female teacher have to be lower than the male teachers' (Religious leader, Gambella).

'Select outstanding female students...if one completes Grade 1 others will...Give chance to females from Grade 7-12...if they get a good score, they can join anything...' (ARRA official, Gambella).

'Supporting female students will change everything or is empowering the society. Supporting them with their basic needs , batter training are needed side to side with the budget' (ARRA official, Somali).

If these proposals were adopted, the incentive teacher training would need to be specifically adapted for females. In fact, this was actually a core suggestion from several participants: 'Give different trainings for female incentive teachers' (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz), "...if training is given the training have to be for girls [sic] because they have to get the opportunity' (Incentive teacher, Gambella), 'Facilitate [specialist] training for females' (Young girl, Gambella). As previously suggested, a way to do this is to recruit drop-out girls and finish off their education in a female-only environment with other candidates: 'Create separate female only classrooms...men dominate in the society; they also dominate in the classroom' (ARRA official, Gambella) and 'There has to be isolated primary school for girls with qualified teachers' (Camp leader, Gambella). Female refugees should also receive a full scholarship: 'And [the training] should be extra support for female teachers like giving scholarship opportunities' (Incentive teacher, Somali).

If the incentive teacher training for girls starts in-camp, it should also end in-camp. This is in line with multiple suggestions across the regions: 'The training needs to be brought closer to the camps for this reason. So the parents can see their daughters... especially Muslim parents' (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz), 'If we provided the training in all rounded manner [for girls] considering the camp structure nothing can hinder the improvement' (ARRA official, Gambella), and 'Long and short term courses are needed for females' (ARRA official, Gambella).

Thus, this situational needs assessment recommends that a two-track incentive teacher training programme is developed for young girls. The first is to recruit eligible young girls and enrol and train them, in-camp. The second is to recruit drop-out girls, finish off their education to grade 10 in female-only spaces, provide incentives – including scholarships - to keep them there, and permit then join the

first track. There is also a myriad of possible training schemes between these two options that could potentially recruit, and retain, more females to the incentive teacher training initiative.

6.4.6 Improve the infrastructure in schools

Part B concluded that the primary schools across all the refugee camps lacked basic resources.

Unsurprisingly, high numbers of participants recommended these basic resources be improved and/or upgraded. A recurrent request was to build bigger primary schools or add significant extensions to the school compounds: “We need... a bigger school” (Incentive teacher, Benhangul-Gumuz), “[we need] ‘building waiting rooms at the school compounds’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz) and “[We need] Open new schools” (Young girls, Gambella). Our researchers frequently undertook KIIs and FGDs in these classrooms and must agree that the classes were too small for the numbers of students enrolled in each class. As section 6.3 summarised, some INGOs/NGOs were assisting in building new / expanding primary schools and ECW funding had already been used for this. Doing more of this would result in more available classes, lower student: teacher ratio and more incentive teachers to teach in these new classrooms thus smaller workloads for each teacher. It would also reduce the workload for each incentive teacher: ‘Minimize burden of incentive teachers at school, which means minimize number of periods to teach per day’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz). Based on these recommendations, we would encourage that *more* external funds are sourced to facilitate the construction and expansion of ARRA primary schools in each refugee camp.

Part B also indicated there was a dearth of learning materials and teaching resources available in the schools. There were recurrent recommendations across regions to improve this state of affairs: ‘Need more teaching / learning resources’, ‘We need more resources’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘She needs more student learning materials that are Demonstration pictures, playing Game, math materials, story books, paper, markers, paints, etc’ (Interview Notes, Incentive teacher, Gambella), ‘To create a cluster resource centre’ (Religious leader, Gambella), and ‘... fulfil teachers resources’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella). But, as part B indicates, these needs go much deeper and includes the provision of electricity, water and the internet. Thus, to increase female participation in incentive teaching, *all* these basic resources must be provided, and available, at ARRA primary schools.

The internet was particularly desired. As part B indicated, many camps had little access to the internet. Thus, several participant groups requested access in primary schools to help retain young girls and female incentive teachers: ‘There are many problems to them in this camp such as problem in communication with the technology as they need internet to get information about anything they want’ (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz); ‘Improve their [young girls]’ capacity regarding on ICT’ (TTC Educator, Afar), and ‘Introduce technology for refugees’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-

Gumuz). Part B also illustrated that several female incentive teachers had access to laptops and desktop computers, but there was no internet and/or electricity to allow them to use such resources. Again, these basic resources must be provided across all camps to help attract, and retain, female incentive teachers.

Also widely supported was the provision of free sanitary materials for girls in school grounds: ‘...for female students prepare sanitation keeping area/ class in school’ (ARRA official, Gambella), ‘Deliver or support sanitation materials for female students’ (NGO worker, Gambella), ‘Provide sanitary materials for female teachers’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘... support essential materials like menstruation cleaning materials etc’ (Incentive teacher, Gambella), and ‘Encourage female incentive teachers by providing books, sanitary pad and books’ (Interview notes, Young girls, Gambella). Whilst section 6.3 indicated that some INGOs and NGOs were providing free sanitary products, this was not confirmed across all camps. To retain both young girls and female incentive teachers in primary schools, free sanitary products in primary schools should be provided.

Parts A and B also indicated that a lack of transportation to and from primary schools – for both young girls and female incentive teachers – was a barrier to attending school. This situational needs assessment recommends that a community transport project – like the EECMY transport project described in sub-section 8.3.1 needs more long-term funding to ensure that both young girls and incentive teachers can be transported to primary school safely to reduce drop-out rates.

6.4.7 Offer free language provision

Part B also indicated that young girls and female incentive teachers needed free language provision. Sub-section 6.3.2 outlined that some INGOs and NGOs were providing some supplemental English language training to incentive teachers, but this was not widespread across the camps. It was recommended that language training be free, and easily accessible, to young girls, including aspiring / trainee female incentive teachers:

‘They need to be Language specific trained so that, the course will provide the knowledge and skills needed to fulfil the incentive teachers in the work place. Be improved to be taken to certification training centres to have good capacity building and train others’ (Religious leader, Gambella).

‘But, what we do as refugee leaders is we have started three private schools in the camp... And we done this, we opened these schools to cover the gap... We want them to come and learn, to go to English school. They’ll be able to learn communicative skills, writing skills – the basic skills in English. So, they will be able to get jobs with international organisations’ (Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘Open schools and training centres for girls and give trainings for them to develop their communication and language skill’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz).

‘The participant states that training in English should be part of incentive teacher training’ (Interview notes, Camp leader, Gambella).

In consequence to these stipulations, this situational needs assessment recommends that not only is English language learning embedded into the new iteration of the incentive teacher training initiative, but that there is also free English provision provided in each camp. It must, presently, be physically provided onsite in the camps due to the lack of electricity and internet in the camps – free online language provision would not eradicate this problem. This on-site provision must have flexible working hours to accommodate young girls and female teachers’ domestic burden to help attract eligible young girls to the incentive teacher training initiative.

6.4.8 Offer free childcare / domestic support

A final recommendation across the camps was to offer assistance to young girls, female trainee teachers and female incentive teachers with domestic chores and childcare. This was presented as key to encourage more eligible young girls to enrol in the initiative: ‘If she gets help on her home chores [she would enrol]’ (Young girl, Gambella), ‘To increase number of female teachers;...help them in the household chores’ (Camp leader, Gambella) and ‘to educate a community, the easiest thing is educating girls. This is because girls took most of the responsibility starting chores and other activities like caring for children and fetching water’ (ARRA official, Afar), ‘Arrange somebody to take caring their child when they are going to teach’ (Young girl, Benishangul-Gumuz), ‘Build day care for female incentive teachers at school to minimize their workload at home’ (Incentive teacher, Benishangul-Gumuz), and ‘The informant also mentioned about what needs to be done to increase the number of young girls taking the advantage such as more support from the organizations working on education, support and focus for orphans at the camp level’ (Interview notes, Camp leader, Benishangul-Gumuz).

With INGO and NGO support, creche / childcare facilities within the refugee camps were identified as much needed to allow young girls and female incentive teachers to attend primary school and teach. Thus, this situational needs assessment underscores the importance of providing such support to encourage female refugees to enrol, and remain, in incentive teacher training initiatives in the camps.

6.4.9 Summary

Sections 6.3 and 6.4 explored the interventions already put in place to combat the internal barriers affecting young girls' uptake of the incentive teacher training initiative, and the suggestions put forward to improve the main initiative to overcome such barriers. The findings from this chapter have confirmed there is little incentive in the main incentive teacher training initiative, and has outlined a number of key alterations to the initiative to allow the initiative to successfully recruit, and retain, eligible female refugees.

In short, the findings have indicated eight key areas where the initiative must improve and/or develop: (i) in raising awareness of the main initiative; (ii) re-designing the initiatives as a cohesive programme embedded in education policy; (iii) re-designing and improving the quality of the training; (iv) increasing the incentive payment; (v) recruiting females only and training them in the camps; (vi) improving the quality of basic resources in the schools; (vii) offering free language courses, and (viii) offering free childcare / domestic support. Without infrastructure, strategies / policies, and resources in these areas, the findings stipulate that it is unlikely that the internal barriers to the main initiative could be overcome. Therefore, all these areas of development and/or improvement must be prioritised to increase female participation in the incentive teacher training initiatives currently available in the refugee camps.

This chapter marks the end of our findings. This report now moves on to outline the conclusions and key recommendations of this situational needs assessment.

7 Conclusions and Recommendations



(Image from <https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/peace/women.shtml>)

7.1 Recommendations to address external barriers

By focusing on the fragile context of life as a refugee girl, this study finds that external factors, including poverty, hunger, water scarcity, gender inequality including time poverty, GBV as well as CFEM (Child early forced marriage) are all gender specific vulnerabilities that manifest the barriers to uptake of educational and incentive teaching opportunities by the female refugee community in Ethiopia.

Moreover, while there has been investment to train qualified refugee teachers who can effectively teach children within the refugee camps in Ethiopia, in many cases, this has been done in gender blind ways.²²⁰ Juxtaposing existing incentive teacher training initiatives with the lived experiences of

²²⁰ The WHO define gender blind programmes and policies as those that 'Ignore[s] gender norms, roles and relations...Very often reinforces gender-based discrimination...Ignore[s] differences in opportunities and resource allocation for women and men...Often constructed based on the principle of being "fair" by treating

refugee girls reveals that there is often little, if any, ‘incentive’ to participation in incentive teaching/skill building initiatives for female refugees in Ethiopia’s refugee camps.

On the contrary, this analysis has shown that there are potent socio economic, cultural factors which, together, constitute powerful ‘disincentives’ to uptake of such opportunities, whereby the costs often override benefits in the context of the gendered reality of female refugees’ lives.

Addressing external barriers to limited participation in incentive teaching/ skill building initiatives by the female refugee community will require holistic programming; taking education ‘outside the box’; recognising that issues of poverty, psychological distress and gender specific vulnerabilities as a result of gender inequality, time poverty and negative cultural practices such as GBV and CEFM cannot be disentangled from educational strategic planning, if future incentives are to be practical options for the female refugee community.

To that end, the following recommendations are put forward to inform the design of the strategy to help increase the demand for teacher training²²¹ among the female refugee community in Ethiopia’s refugee camps:

7.1.1 Taking a context and gender sensitive approach (cross-cutting)

Although all refugee camps are fragile contexts, it is still important not to homogenise ‘the refugee context’ and to recognise their heterogeneity. There are distinct nuances and variations in each camp context, depending on many different variables, including location, country of origin, societal norms and values, relationship with host community, impact of religion etc.²²² Many of these contextual differences are further informed both by the diverse socio-cultural norms of refugees’ home countries, as well as the different experiences of, and reasons for, displacement. Hierarchies of influential camp leaders can also vary from clan leaders to elders to religious leaders to camp and zonal leaders, depending on the camp. It is imperative to involve the local community in the different life cycles of the program (initiation, planning, implementation and monitoring and controlling). Knowing the challenges of each camp and which gatekeepers to approach and engage with will be a critical part of effective programme delivery and sustainability.

This implies any future programme will need to be tailored to consider local context so as the needs and challenges of future female teachers in each individual camp are met. This recommendation takes

everyone the same’ (WHO Gender Responsive Assessment Scale: criteria for assessing programmes and policies)

²²¹ UNICEF/VSO ToR

²²² For example, the issue of FGM was raised in focus group discussions with girls in Somali but did not emerge strongly in other regions

into consideration UNICEF's²²³ affirmation that 'communities, themselves are best placed to identify local 'local solutions and approaches'²²⁴.

In this regard, it is recommended that within the macro programme overview, there would be in-built flexibility to consider the micro contexts of individual refugee camps, to ensure that future initiatives 'fit' the particular context of different refugee camps, rather than simply rolling out a 'one size fits all' programme. For example, this would need to include the mapping of key influential stakeholders at community level, both men and women that could be potential allies in shifting negative norms that currently hold female refugees back, "We should work on the community itself as well; the community has to let go the belief which says women is created to be a wife or a mother and execute home chores (Young girls, Tigray).

Future programming must also avoid gender blindness by taking cognisance of the difference in men and women's lives in refugee contexts in Ethiopia. If more female refugees are to be incentivised to participate in such programmes, consideration must be given to the lived experience of the female refugee community and the gender specific vulnerabilities they face. In particular, this will involve an awareness of, and sensitivity to, the economic, social and cultural forces that disproportionately affect female refugees, since these are the principal external factors that ultimately limit their ability to engage in incentive teaching/training initiatives.

7.1.2 Addressing poverty

Poverty is rife across Ethiopia's refugee camps²²⁵ and findings from this study clearly highlight the impact of this on female refugees' education and their participation in incentive teaching/training in refugee contexts, across Ethiopia. Many parents cannot afford to educate their daughters, many of whom drop out of school to generate additional income for themselves and/or the household.

The implication of this is that the issue of poverty simply cannot be disentangled from education and any future educational/capacity building programme will have to build in resilience, in particular, poverty alleviation strategies. All too often poverty reduction is seen as being outside of the remit of the educational sector. This is due to the tendency among both governmental and non-governmental agencies to put education, poverty and health in individual silos.

²²³ UNICEF, Refugee Education: A Strategy for Refugee Inclusion, 2030.

²²⁴ Ibid, p.24.

²²⁵ 'Refugees reside in some of the poorest communities [in Ethiopia]...Refugees are generally much poorer than host community households; two in three refugees live below the international poverty line (US\$1.90 per day per person at 2011 PPP), while one in four host community members live below the poverty line' (IRC, 2018, p.6)

7.1.2.1 Poverty reduction: income generation

As far back as 2004, UNHCR²²⁶ recognised income generation as part of a ‘durable solution’ to ‘foster self-reliance for refugees in camps in western Ethiopia’ (2004: 213)²²⁷. Taking up this concept more recently, the Norwegian Rescue Committee cite an ‘urgent need’ for ‘a greater focus [to be] be placed on refugees’ self-reliance –and thus, on refugee livelihoods’ (Hall, 2017: 39)²²⁸. Borrowing from these findings and on the basis of the analysis provided in Part A, this study proposes that an ‘integrated programming framework that encompasses livelihood’ (ibid. 3) be part of UNICEF’s capacity building programme looking to build the skills of potentially qualified female youths in refugee camps, going forward.

To this end, it is recommended that an income generation component be strategically integrated into future incentive teacher/training, initiatives, as this will act as an additional ‘incentive’ to increase participation by female refugees “Support such teachers and empower with economic wellbeing[‘s]’ (NGO worker, Tigray)

While the nature of such a project may vary from camp to camp depending on the needs and the skills of the refugees²²⁹, an income generating project would supplement their incentive payment and have an additional benefit of building self-reliance among the female refugees, enabling them to become self-sufficient both in the camp and upon return to their home country (UNCHR)²³⁰. An example of a very cost effective income generating activity that yields dual benefits for women is proffered in 6.4, below.

²²⁶ UNHCR Global Report 2004

²²⁷ Unfortunately, UNCHR had to reduce most of these activities that year ‘to a bare minimum’ as a result of ‘budgetary constraints, at some points during the year’ (2004: 213). However, a revolving fund was set up and soap production was set up as an income generating activity

²²⁸ Significantly, however, the report also claimed there was a ‘lack of sustainability of refugee livelihoods in the context of Ethiopia’; ‘As a UNHCR representative stated, ‘I don’t know if you can speak of sustainable livelihoods when it comes to refugees, because the economic environment is not yet enabling to sustainable livelihoods’ (2017:39)

²²⁹ For instance, in Gambella 23 young women were successfully trained on how to create specific custom designed necklaces, wristbands and other products and were selling them through the Ethical Fashions Initiative (<https://www.theret.org/skills-tools-markets-making-income-generating-projects-work/>)

²³⁰ <https://www.unhcr.org/438d6fed2.pdf>

7.1.2.2 Increase incentive pay

In addition, findings from this study demonstrate that, at current levels, the derisory incentive teacher salary merely compounds refugees' experience of poverty by creating an occupational poverty trap.

Recommendations relating to pay increases are put forward in Part B.

7.1.3 Addressing trauma

Understanding the impact of trauma on refugees' lives is a sine qua non for appreciating the effect of the many psychosocial challenges that all refugees²³¹ face in refugee camps across Ethiopia. The issues raised by many different respondents in this study, while diverse and broad ranging, expose the breadth of psychological challenges in refugee camp settings, shoring up the necessity for addressing unmet psychosocial needs of refugees in these camps.

The gendered reality of life in a refugee camp can be so overwhelming for some female refugees that it can negatively impact their overall mental health and ability to cope with life. From an educational perspective, it is paramount that such issues be addressed. Without psychosocial support, female refugees are at risk of poor mental health, poor performance in education and worryingly, even suicidal ideation.

Apart from the psychological distress of hopelessness, forced displacement and trauma, acute poverty has also been found to have psychosocial impacts on refugees. Indeed, a recent study²³² of war-affected adolescents suggested it was 'poverty, and not exposure to violence and trauma' which had the biggest impact on the adolescents' cognitive functioning²³³.

Chen et al's suggestion that these findings can guide approaches to interventions designed to help young refugees²³⁴ is highly significant in Ethiopia's refugee context, further underscoring the urgency of including poverty reduction strategies (above) in any future capacity building initiatives by UNICEF.²³⁵

²³¹ It is important to note that trauma also negatively impacts male refugees and unmet needs in this regard may have adverse impact, including for example increased rates of GBV, which in turn, has a negative impact on women

²³² Minds Under Siege: Cognitive Signatures of Poverty and Trauma in Refugee and Non-Refugee Adolescents, Chen et al. Child Development, 2019.

²³³ *ibid.*

²³⁴ *ibid.*

²³⁵ This programme provides teachers with psychosocial skills to heal conflict-affected children and support their progression in school <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/protection-through-education>

7.1.3.1 Scaling up psychosocial supports

Unmet psycho social challenges are obstacles to both learning and incentive teaching and in this context it is vital that they are addressed by any future training programmes. Fortunately, there is growing recognition of the importance of providing psychosocial supports in conflict-affected contexts²³⁶. Indeed VSO Ethiopia has an excellent track record in providing training on psycho social supports in their ‘protection for education’ programme²³⁷ for children affected by conflict. Given the scale of legacy issues and psycho social challenges faced by refugees, this study highly recommends that a psycho social component be integrated into future capacity building initiatives by UNICEF and that modules on psychosocial skills be included in training initiatives for teachers in refugee camp settings.

7.1.4 Gender transformative programming

As illustrated in Part A, female refugees in Ethiopia’s refugee camps experience specific gender vulnerabilities. The profound negative impact of gendered socio cultural norms on the lives of the female refugee community has been exposed by the words and voices of participants in this study. It is reflected in the uptake of educational opportunities by the female refugee community, as both students and teachers. Eshete’s 2003 analysis of women’s representation at faculty level in universities in Ethiopia revealed similar barriers to female participation in the third level sector, where; ‘...cultural values, attitudes and behaviours, the institutional structure and environment are the main obstacles to greater participation of women at all levels of education’ (2003:3).

To counter this, gender transformative planning will be required by UNICEF. The following recommendations are proposed:

7.1.4.1 Gender mainstreaming

‘Encourage females and strongly continue gender mainstreaming activities’ (ARRA official, Tigray).

This study confirms the existence of deep-rooted and entrenched gender inequality in most of Ethiopia’s refugee contexts. This has had implications for women’s’ self-confidence, decision making power and engagement in the public sphere. Given that gender-specific barriers to the uptake of incentive teaching and training opportunities for female refugees have hitherto resulted in a major

²³⁶ https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/node/15500/pdf/psychosocial_wellbeing_pr4.pdf

²³⁷ <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/protection-through-education>

uptake challenge²³⁸, it is recommended that gender mainstreaming be embedded into future training schemes for incentive teachers as well as UNICEF's capacity building programme. This is consistent with UNICEF's strategy of 'creating an organizational culture of gender equality and combatting barriers to equality'.²³⁹

Gender mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities, including planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes and projects.²⁴⁰ Embedding gender mainstreaming at each stage of future incentive teaching training programmes will 'ensure that teacher policies are designed with the knowledge that the society we live in is not gender-balanced and that all the policy components address these gender equality issues (Mulugeta, 2012:7).²⁴¹

Incorporating gender mainstreaming into educational training programmes simply involves:

'...focusing on gender and learning through gender-sensitive pedagogy or tuition for girls; focusing on gender and teaching through the development of gender-sensitive curricula, teacher training programmes and learning materials; increasing the presence of women teachers and managers in schools; involving women in community engagement with school governance; linking education with the labour market and other social development strategies... (Unterhalter et al, 2014:17).

7.1.4.2 Co-design

Moreover, it is recommended that there be input from the female refugee community to set up future programmes in gender specific ways that address female refugees' gendered vulnerabilities and the challenges they pose for incentive teaching/training uptake. This could include, for example, 'validating' proposed initiatives to overcome extrinsic barriers with advisory groups of young girls and women during the design phase. These groups will provide the dual benefit of both acting as a sounding board to fine tune initiatives but also being able to strengthen them in their capacity as experts by experience.

²³⁸ Terms of Reference for a Situational Analysis on Factors Impeding Female Participation in Teacher Training Programs in Refugee Contexts: 1

²³⁹ UNICEF'S STRATEGY ON PREVENTING AND RESPONDING TO SEXUAL EXPLOITATION AND ABUSE AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT: 3

²⁴⁰ UN Women, <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/gendermainstreaming.htm>

²⁴¹ Gender Mainstreaming in Teacher Education Policy: A Training Module, UNESCO-IICBA, 2012.

7.1.4.3 Empowerment²⁴²

A number of participant groups highlighted the need for gender empowerment to tackle the endemic gender inequalities in refugee camps and increase community participation in camp life by the female refugee community. Gender empowerment is also needed to ensure that the female refugee community has equal access to education and incentive teaching opportunities, right from the beginning.

It has been long acknowledged that when African women are empowered and receive education, there is a ripple effect whereby they can provide their households with better nutrition, stronger food security and increased access to health care²⁴³. Unfortunately, acute gender inequality is currently impeding this in Ethiopia's refugee camps.

7.1.4.3.1 Empowerment initiatives

While gender empowerment is, by definition, a strategic and long term project, short term local in-camp initiatives are a good first step in this direction. As Mugisha puts it, 'attitudes cannot be changed overnight' and long term projects need to be 'combined with appropriate practical strategies to reduce the gender imbalance in the short term.'²⁴⁴ Examples of short term measures that address some of these gender specific vulnerabilities include:

-Awareness raising initiatives: Since much gender inequality in the community stems from societal attitudes and gender stereotyping, there is much work to be done to create 'community level awareness creation to empower refugee girls' (Female teacher, Afar). This should be done in partnership with local communities (See Part B recommendations).

-Self-confidence /self-assertion programmes: Many of the participants in this study cited to lack of self-esteem among the female refugees as a gender specific barrier to the uptake of incentive teaching/training among the female refugee community. An existing teacher in Sherkole strongly advocated 'self-confidence/self-esteem trainings' for female refugees 'to make them self-confident and support them [to be] interested to become incentive teacher' (Camp leader, Sherkole). This echoes Eschete's emphasis on 'the importance of self-assertion training for women to build up their self- confidence' (2003:3). If young girls could be engaged in programmes to boost their confidence and self-esteem at primary school level, and beyond, in the camps, it would be a positive step in the

²⁴² Empowerment can be defined as 'the ability to have the resources, such as knowledge and skills, and the agency—that is, the ability and freedom to define and act upon one's goals—to make decisions and take action related to matters of significance in one's life' (Glinski, Schwenke, O'Brien-Milne, and Farley (2018:2).

²⁴³ <https://www.africare.org/africares-approach/womens-empowerment/>

²⁴⁴ Gender imbalance in secondary schools

<https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/textOnlyContent/FMR/22/16.htm>

right direction, instilling female refugees with the self-belief that they can be incentive teachers and embark on careers and have a profession, just like men.

-Use Female Role Models: Lack of female role models both as teachers and in positions of leadership was also cited by a number of respondents. Many, including the young girls themselves, alluded to women's confinement to the home and fear of entering public spaces. However, where they exist; female role models can inspire their fellow girls. 'Positive [female] role models within the camp setting' (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2002: 93) should be identified and given every opportunity to sensitise and encourage their fellow females. Conversely, not having female role models²⁴⁵ sends out a very negative message to girls (and boys), further entrenching both gender inequalities and inequality of opportunity.

-Mentorship: Given the societal and gender-specific barriers, including CEFM, high domestic workload, patriarchal attitudes and lack of decision making power etc. that hold female refugees back, a mentoring programme whereby other females encourage and support young refugee girls could be very useful.

In Nepal, VSO's 'Sister for Sister'²⁴⁶ mentorship programme has been very successful in supporting thousands of girls from marginalised communities to improve their school attendance and participation. Through this initiative, young girls [Little Sisters] are 'paired' with volunteer 'Big Sisters'. These female mentors offer encouragement, accountability, and essential information on issues, including sexual and reproductive health, and 'empowering girls to recognise that they have choices and agency when it comes to their future – including deciding whether to continue their education, and choosing when to get married and have children' (www.vsointernational.org/our-work/inclusive-education/system-strengthening/sisters-for-sisters). Significantly, 94% of the young girls reported not only that they enjoyed being mentored, but that it also 'helps them stay in school' (ibid.).

-Promote political engagement/activism by females in camp: 'promote involvement of girl in administration of clubs and all school activities' (Camp Leader, Gambella) [and] 'increase the involvement of girl students in school communities (ibid.). Particularly important would be supporting women's groups addressing women's rights: 'there has to be a justice, a responsible body in protecting women's rights' (Young girls, Tigray, interviewer notes).

Initiatives such as these which address female refugees' gender specific vulnerabilities should be built into UNICEF's capacity building programme.

²⁴⁵ Such as the case alluded to in Afar where the refugee camp had no female teachers, whatsoever

²⁴⁶ <https://www.vsointernational.org/our-work/inclusive-education/system-strengthening/sisters-for-sisters>

7.1.5 Addressing negative socio-cultural norms and practices

According to the views of respondents gathered through this study, negative socio-cultural norms and practices around GBV, and CEFM are root causes of girls' high school dropout rate and the lack of uptake incentive teaching opportunities by female refugees. Many participants advocated that these issues be tackled before an enabling environment can exist for the female refugees to either study or teach:

'The culture of dowry and early marriage has to be reduced through community mobilization and awareness creation', 'community mobilization and awareness creation to abolish early marriage', '...abolish early marriage and dowry' was cited as factor for increasing numbers of female teachers (Camp leader, Gambella), 'We need to stop early marriage.' (Young Girls, Benshangul-Gumuz).

The practice of CEFM, which is by no means unique to Ethiopia or to the refugee context, has 'emerged on the global scene as a pressing challenge that requires urgent attention' (Adeola, 2016: 50). Adeola explains that 'due to the perceived economic prospects of CEFM, many families in communities engaged in the practice of CEFM consider it futile to educate the girl-child' (ibid.). To help address this, Adeola's recommendation that 'the principle of participation, accountability, non-discrimination and empowerment' (ibid. 52) be adopted by policy makers should also be considered and built into UNICEF's future capacity building initiatives

Though frequently masked, this study also identified sexual and gender based violence as a specific gender vulnerability and barrier to learning and teaching in the female refugee community in Ethiopia. Sexual harassment, sexual assault and rape all cause girls to drop out of school, while fears thereof can also prevent female refugees from continuing their education and/or take up incentive training opportunities. By underscoring its influence on dropout rates across designated refugee camps in Ethiopia, the findings further corroborate earlier ones by the UNCHR (2016) that sexual violence further compounds the challenge of school attendance among refugee children. This, in turn, has implications for girls' education and the availability of potential female candidates for available teacher training initiatives.

7.1.5.1 Sensitisation and community awareness raising

Building local capacity and community engagement in relation to GBV (Tappis, Freeman and Doocy, 2016:10) and CEFM is one step towards sensitisation and confronting these issues. However, according to Tappis, Freeman and Doocy, there is also a further need to consider 'socio-cultural

norms change, rebuilding family and community support structures, improving accountability systems, designing effective services and facilities, working with formal and traditional legal systems, monitoring and documenting GBV, and/or engaging men and boys in GBV prevention and response in refugee settings' (2016:20).

In this regard, there is a need to work with various stakeholders including elderly members of the community both to raise awareness (through posters, trainings, and consultation) and take the necessary measures against such gender-based violence in the camp.

Although it may appear peripheral to the remit of UNICEF, existing efforts by NGOs to sensitise against GBV and CEFM need to be supported and included in UNICEF's proposed capacity building initiatives, to build in resilience to any future refugee educational programmes.

7.1.5.2 Culturally sensitive behavioural and sexual education

Given the lack of sex education available at camp level, future programming should consider a culturally sensitive behavioural and sexual education component in the camps. This can be designed in consultation with community leaders.²⁴⁷

7.1.5.3 Strengthening reporting and accountability systems

As highlighted in Part A, there have been allegations of the sexual exploitation of unaccompanied minors by some in positions of power and with a duty of care, as well as broader incidents of GBV.

Thus, it is highly recommended that safeguarding be strengthened and reporting systems are firmly embedded in any initiative going forward. whereby female refugees or other concerned individuals can safely report such incidences.

Since such instances are further manifestations of power inequality that perpetuate cycles of abuse, sensitisation work and gender sensitive training (above) can also be carried out with gatekeepers. Alongside this, to help strengthen the realisation of women and girls rights, and in turn remove barriers to participation, UNICEF with partners, and as part of the broader sensitisation initiatives, can be looking at strengthening accountability processes. This can be done both by raising women and girls awareness on their rights, the accountability framework that is in place to protect them and if need provide redress, including where 'whistleblowing around actual or perceived wrongdoing can be reported in confidence and without fear of retribution' (Goal, 2018:3). These recommendations are

²⁴⁷ These issues can sometimes be seen as taboo and must be approached with great sensitivity, to have any degree of success

aligned with UNICEF's *Strategy on Preventing and Responding to Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) and Sexual Harassment (SH)* and speak to its key priority areas of: zero tolerance, safe and trusted reporting mechanisms, survivor-centred responses, swift and credible redress, and bringing partners on board to further prevent and respond to SH and SEA²⁴⁸.

7.1.5.4 Male engagement

Male engagement work with men and boys has grown in popularity over the past forty years, where it has been 'increasingly recognized as critical to advancing gender equality and equity...necessary not only for women's empowerment, but also to transform the social and gender norms that reinforce patriarchy and inequality and harm both women and men' (Glinski, Schwenke, O'Brien-Milne, and Farley (2018:2). Indeed the Beijing Platform for Action identified education as one of the areas where male engagement was most needed (ibid. 3).

UNICEF will need to 'bring men in' and engage men as 'both stakeholders and co-beneficiaries' (ibid.). One example of where this has been employed, with great success, is in Rwanda, where in a run project by Plan International, groups of men from Mugombwa refugee camp are 'taking the lead to prevent abuse against women and girls'²⁴⁹. These men reach out to households 'to ensure conflicts are addressed without abuse and have settled 'numerous disputes' using 'peaceful and regular dialogue' instead to prevent violence²⁵⁰.

Another excellent example is in Sierra Leone where a VSO led project is engaging men as key agents of change²⁵¹. The project works with 'male advocates and peer health educators'. These are all 'members of the community who have volunteered to learn about, and spread awareness of, a range of issues including sexual violence, GBV, rape, female genital mutilation, sexual and reproductive health, child marriage and child abuse'²⁵². In their 'husband school', men are being challenged about violence against women, by other men. The project is reported to have engendered 'a change in male behaviours, as well as improved family relationships', making it 'easier for women to speak out against violence'. In addition, there has been a reported reduction in GBV and 'more people are coming forward to report cases of sexual abuse to the police' since the project began²⁵³. This model of

²⁴⁸ https://www.unicef.org/about/execboard/files/UNICEF_Strategy_Preventing_SEA_SH-summary-May_2019.pdf

²⁴⁹ <https://plan-international.org/case-studies/men-prevent-violence-against-women-refugee-camps>

²⁵⁰ Ibid

²⁵¹ <https://www.vsointernational.org/our-work/healthy-communities/inclusive-srhr/male-engagement>

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

male engagement could equally work in refugee settings where male refugees could be trained as advocates to challenge harmful socio cultural practices such as GBV.

Other strategies, too, that use male ‘peer mentors, celebrities, community leaders and other role models’ are also very useful for challenging negative socio cultural norms and practices²⁵⁴ and should be considered in any future capacity building initiatives by UNICEF.

7.1.5.5 Community Theatre

Community theatre is also very useful and inclusive tool for disseminating messages that address sensitive gender issues, such as GBV and early/forced marriage. VSO’s community theatre model (‘Theatre for Change’) is one such example that could be adopted in refugee contexts to sensitise communities about GBV and other harmful socio cultural norms, whilst simultaneously promoting the importance of girls’ education among the refugee community. Here, VSO volunteers facilitate ‘interactive theatre performances and workshops’ which ‘equip young people with the tools, knowledge and confidence they need to find their voice, advocate for their sexual health and rights, access services and take control of their lives’(vsointernational.org).²⁵⁵ Through theatre performances in communities, ‘young people are empowered to tell their own stories, in their own words, to people that they never normally would – including those in positions of power to make changes for the better’ (ibid.). This model could easily be rolled out in refugee camps across Ethiopia. It is low cost and merely involves training young refugees on using interactive theatre.²⁵⁶ Not only could community drama be engaged to challenge negative socio cultural norms and practices, it could be simultaneously used to highlight the many benefits of education for the female refugee community.

7.1.5.6 Community radio

Local radio has also been used as a tool to disseminate messages that challenge negative socio-cultural norms to great effect. In Mozambique, volunteers are running a very successful interactive radio drama programme in schools and communities aimed at reducing early marriages and teenage pregnancies. This project, called ‘Male Engagement’²⁵⁷ targets teenage boys to promote positive

²⁵⁴ Glinski, A, Schwenke, C, and O’Brien-Milne, L, and Farley, K. (2018) Gender Equity and Male Engagement: It only works when everyone plays, p.5

²⁵⁵ <https://www.vsointernational.org/our-work/healthy-communities/inclusive-srhr/interactive-theatre>

²⁵⁶ Not only is this low budget but it is also a very sustainable model of community sensitisation as a ‘train the trainers’ approach could be employed to train a few refugees, who in turn would train their fellow refugees

²⁵⁷ <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p084jg8f>

behavioural change. This can easily be adapted in the refugee context to address negative socio-cultural norms and practices.

The above examples demonstrate the many tools which exist for community sensitisation and awareness raising. Their advantage lies in the fact that they disseminate important messages that address negative socio-cultural norms while also being local, participatory and entertaining.

7.1.6 Addressing time poverty

This study has singled classified time poverty as a gender specific vulnerability and major challenge for the female refugee community. Not only is it a major barrier to girls' continuation in education, but time poverty as a result of balancing their workload in the home and caring duties with education was described as a 'double burden'. Whilst gender norms that dictate that domestic work is the responsibility of women and girls can be challenged using some of the sensitisation models described above, in the meantime, strategies that, practically, reduce female refugees' experience of time poverty and free them up to pursue their education, whether as teachers or students should also be encouraged.

7.1.6.1 Flexible learning: 'Build in' time for other activities

Given the gender division of labour, many of the girls described balancing their education with work in the home as a double burden²⁵⁸. Any future programmes should allow girls to integrate education with other economic and social activities; it should not be a standalone program. For example, it should allow girls to perform other activities. Consideration should be given to reducing school hours to allow girls to perform other activities. The programme should also be integrated to social components by creating a mechanism to work closely with the local community, such as for example, creating a forum to create to discuss and identify possibilities in each camp so that girls will be allowed to allocate their time to home activity, school and study.

7.1.6.2 Incorporate training on time saving technology

To help address time poverty, it is suggested that in-camp training²⁵⁹ could be provided on time saving technology that cuts down on time spent on household chores such as cooking/fetching water by female refugees. One participant recommended the use of 'improved, energy saving ovens to save significant time spent on searching fire wood' (ARRA official, Gambella). There are documented

²⁵⁸ A time use survey to identify how young girls spent their time on various home, economic, social and other activities is also suggested to support this recommendation.

²⁵⁹ If some local refugees could be trained in these techniques using a 'train the trainers' methodology, it would make this cost effective and sustainable

examples of how to construct economic stoves made simply from local mud (e.g Darfur, Sudan)²⁶⁰ and simple water harvesting solutions²⁶¹ as time saving solutions that could free female refugees up for other activities outside the home, including education.

7.1.6.3 Adopt family-friendly policies

Given that the demands of domestic workload and motherhood are gender specific barriers to uptake of teaching opportunities for many female refugees, a family flexible approach is recommended for any future initiatives to recruit and train female incentive teachers. Participants highlighted the need for such interventions, suggesting for example, that maternity leave be introduced: ‘Increase maternity leave when they give birth. Even if a female incentive teacher is pregnant she have [sic] to take enough rest at school.’ (Existing Teachers, Sherkole), ‘Arrange somebody to take caring their child when they are going to teach’ (Young girls, Sherkole).

Indeed the WHO (2019) recommends the adoption of family-friendly policies to protect women’s health, promote gender equality and support women’s participation in the workforce, more broadly.²⁶² If future incentive teaching programmes are designed in such a way as to meet these WHO’s criteria for family-friendly work practices, they will incentivise female refugees with family commitments to engage in incentive teaching/training, provide for their family economically (ibid), thus promoting gender equity and women’s economic participation (ibid) within the female refugee community.

The provision of childcare facilities can be one element of such an approach. Provision of childcare services was recommended by female participants whose childcare responsibilities were a disincentive to engaging in potential incentive teaching/training opportunities: ‘Open day care in the school for female incentive teachers this will minimize burden of females at home, they can put their children at day care and teach’ (Incentive teachers, Benishangul-Gumuz).

7.1.6.4 Flexible ‘classrooms’

In many cases, it is not practicable for female refugees to leave their homes and families to teach in a school, due to security concerns, caring duties and time poverty. VSO Bangladesh has shown that a flexible model of schooling, apart from the conventional classroom setting, is not only a possibility,

²⁶⁰ <http://www.fao.org/3/a-i5585e.pdf>

²⁶¹ Critchley and Gowing, 2012

²⁶² <https://eur02.safelinks.protection.outlook.com/?url=https%3A%2F%2Fapps.who.int%2Firis%2Fbitstream%2Fhandle%2F10665%2F326099%2FWHO-NMH-NHD-19.23-eng.pdf%3Fsequence%3D1%26isAllowed%3Dy&data=02%7C01%7Candie.reynolds%40northumbria.ac.uk%7C75abf16a98554868365c08d831840933%7Ce757cfd1f354457af8f7c9c6b1437e3%7C0%7C1%7C637313790447177130&data=CpHUyIfg90iq5QTlosBkv8vHvZUdN3XIndYeHvNKIAQ%3D&reserved=0>

but is helping address gender specific barriers in a way that works for both teachers and students. Learnings can be taken from their successful educational programme with young Rohingya refugees in the Cox's Bazar camp Based on a 'sister to sister' approach, older girls and young women from the Rohingya community are trained to act as teachers, mentors and facilitators, who then open up their homes to young learners.²⁶³ More recently, VSO Bangladesh has also built twelve learning centres for children aged 6-14 to begin to learn basic maths and literacy, and constructed including six wells to deliver purified water to these centres.²⁶⁴

If UNICEF Ethiopia could capture some good practice on home based education from here, it could avoid so many of the gender specific vulnerabilities facing young female teachers who have to leave their home and families and travel long distances to school. This would address both security and time poverty issues.

7.1.6.5 Address period poverty

UNICEF's (2019) support of improved menstrual health and hygiene (MHH) is based a commitment to 'improving outcomes on education, health, and gender equality for girls and women'²⁶⁵. Addressing MHH means tackling period poverty, particularly 'systematic factors' such as 'as accurate and timely knowledge, available, safe, and affordable materials, informed and comfortable professionals, referral and access to health services, sanitation and washing facilities, positive social norms, safe and hygienic disposal and advocacy and policy'²⁶⁶.

Period poverty, particularly lack of sanitary pads, was identified as challenges for the female refugee community in Ethiopia and a barrier to participation in public life and the education sector, specifically.

An income generating project which simultaneously addresses this issue was set up by The Dare Women's Foundation in Tanzania. The project trains women to make reusable sanitary pads and sell them to other women for a small profit. Through this initiative, a group of women were enabled to start their own small businesses making and selling pads which can be washed and reused²⁶⁷. A simple pattern is available on their website; all that is required is some cotton, thread and some sewing machines. If a similar project could be rolled out as part of UNICEF's capacity building programme, and machines and materials provided to female incentive teachers, it would have a

²⁶³ <https://www.vsointernational.org/our-work/where-we-work/bangladesh>

²⁶⁴ <https://www.vso.ie/news/blog/creating-smiles-in-a-rohingya-refugee-camp>

²⁶⁵ UNICEF, 2019, Guidance on Menstrual Health and Hygiene, p.16.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, p.25.

²⁶⁷ <http://www.darewomensfoundation.org/projects.html>

double benefit; allowing female incentive teachers to augment their incentive salary, while providing female refugees with access to reusable pads.

7.1.7 Synergies with other initiatives (UNICEF, 2019, p.26)

Part A of this study unpacks some of the external barriers to female refugees' uptake of incentive teaching/training opportunities. The above recommendations are made as enablers, to address those gender-specific barriers. However, where recommendations are outside of the specific remit of UNICEF, collaboration and synergy with existing initiatives to address these issues in the refugee camps is highly recommended. Part C elaborates on many programmes that are already in place.

7.2 Recommendations to address internal barriers

By documenting the experiences of young refugee girls and women engaging with educational structures both within and out with the refugee camps²⁶⁸, this situational needs assessment has isolated a range of internal barriers having an adverse effect on the female refugee community. These same findings have shown that such barriers have contributed to their limited participation in incentive teaching and incentive teacher training initiatives in the camps.

As students in ARRA primary schools, young female refugees face several internal barriers. These include:

- (i) the low quality of education and teachers in ARRA primary schools
- (ii) gender-based violence and discrimination in the school grounds and classrooms
- (iii) high student: teacher ratios and overcrowded classrooms
- (iv) lack of infrastructure in ARRA primary schools, including learning materials
- (v) language barriers between students and teachers
- (vi) lack of female teachers in ARRA primary schools to act as role models for refugee girls

The profoundly adverse effects of these internal barriers have been shown to result in refugee girls dropping-out of primary school. Dropping out of school early automatically excludes young female refugees from enrolling on the main incentive teacher training initiative as completing grade 10 is the minimum criteria for entry. If UNICEF wants to recruit, and retain, more female refugees into such initiatives, they will need to work in partnership with ARRA primary schools to help eradicate such internal barriers.

²⁶⁸ Predominantly, in the ARRA primary schools and the regional TTCs.

The incentive, national and drop-out teachers who participated in this needs assessment not only confirmed several of these internal barriers but added more. From their own narratives that documented their experiences working in ARRA primary schools, these internal barriers emerged as the most persistent they faced:

- (i) insufficient, and often late, ‘incentive’ salary payment
- (ii) gender-based violence and discrimination in the school grounds and classrooms
- (iii) high student: teacher ratios and overcrowded classrooms
- (iv) lack of infrastructure in ARRA primary schools, including teaching materials
- (v) excessive workload, i.e. teaching multiple classes, shifts and grades
- (vi) lack of support and mentorship
- (vii) language and communication barriers with students
- (viii) discrepancy in salary and benefits between national and incentive teachers

These internal barriers were acting as push factors for existing female teachers in ARRA primary schools and had already drove both incentive and national teachers to resign and find alternative employment. Yet again, if UNICEF wants more female refugees teaching in ARRA primary schools, they will be required to work in partnership with these primary schools to help eliminate these embedded internal barriers.

The internal barriers encountered in this situational needs assessment are not solely linked to the ARRA primary schools. The findings uncovered a plethora of internal barriers embedded within the main incentive teacher training initiative. These barriers also factor in the under-recruitment of the female refugee community into the initiative. These internal barriers include:

- (i) lack of awareness of the main initiative
- (ii) vague recruitment strategy
- (iii) no visible links to an existing policy framework in education / refugee education / education in emergencies (EiE)
- (iv) insufficient, and inconsistent, training
- (v) inadequate, and often late, salary payment
- (vi) male-dominated training spaces that can intimidate and exclude female refugees
- (vii) not enough language training, especially in Amharic and English

It is important to re-iterate that addressing these internal barriers also involves addressing the external barriers previously outlined: ‘All challenges could be improve (sic) before everything then quality teaching training could be provide for females’ (ARRA official, Benishangul-Gumuz) and ‘We are refugee and have more barriers/difficulties so solve those existing barriers’ (Parent, Afar). Therefore, the recommendations we have outlined to address external barriers *must* be undertaken in conjunction with our recommendations to address internal barriers.

This situational needs assessment puts forward seven recommendations to tackle these internal barriers that are acutely affecting female refugees' engagement with incentive teaching and incentive teacher training initiatives. All seven recommendations were based on the suggestions given by participants in Part B and, especially, Part C. Additional literature is provided with each suggestion to support UNICEF in its re-evaluation of the incentive teacher training initiatives currently operating within the refugee camps. These recommendations will now be discussed in turn.

7.2.1 Provide infrastructure and basic resources at ARRA primary schools

Part B concluded that the primary schools across all refugee camps studied lacked basic resources, and that the resources they needed to be improved and/or upgraded. This was surprising, given that Education Cannot Wait (ECW) and the World Bank had recently invested considerable sums of money in some regions to tackle these issues. Nevertheless, a recurrent request from our participants was to build bigger primary schools or add extensions to the school compounds. This was to eradicate the unmanageably high student: teacher ratios reported across the refugee camps. Classroom, rather than teacher, shortages were identified as causing such high student: teacher ratios. Where classroom *and* teacher shortages existed, this became a pressure point for incentive teachers where they were increasingly compelled to work two shifts per day and to cover grades 5-8, which they were not trained to do. This often resulted in a plethora of related problems, such as language barriers with the students, lack of access to food, water and teaching resources, and difficulties fulfilling domestic and childcare duties. More external funds must be sourced to facilitate the construction and/or expansion of ARRA primary schools in each refugee camp. This includes the provision of free school meals at schools for students *and* teachers²⁶⁹.

The UNHCR (2015) also cites providing these as essential resources to 'improve working conditions to optimise teacher motivation and quality teaching and learning'²⁷⁰. This strategy recommends measures to improve working conditions of teachers, including provision of staff rooms in the school, supply of desks and chairs for teachers, supply of adequate textbooks, teacher guides and reference materials, and learning and teaching materials. It also cites reducing teacher: student ratios to meet the national and international standards as vital, which is a maximum teacher: student ratio of 1:50²⁷¹. This figure is in line with the ideal teacher: student ratios provided by the incentive, national and drop-out teachers throughout this situational needs assessment.

²⁶⁹ See Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

²⁷⁰ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.15.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

There was also a dearth of teaching and learning resources at the ARRA primary schools recorded in this study. Again, this was surprising given that specific funding from ECW – but although only in the Gambella and the Benishangul-Gumuz regions - and the World Bank had been recently deployed to eliminate these problems. The provision of electricity, water, school meals and the internet were also cited as essential. This is also startling given UNICEF's Learning and Development Programme, implemented since 2016, to provide new primary classrooms and '3 star hygiene interventions' including the improvement of WASH facilities in primary schools²⁷². Thus, to increase female participation in incentive teaching, *all* these basic resources should be provided, and available, at ARRA primary schools. The participants in this study regarded these as the most basic foundations.

Similar reports and evaluations have reached comparable conclusions. For example, in Lashford & Malid's (2019)²⁷³ study, participants from the refugee camps were asked about their perceptions of the school's facilities. The top two concerns raised were WASH related issues; namely, challenges with the school toilets and lack of water supply in the schools, and the state of school facilities, including the size and provision of the school library and science laboratory. Importantly, Lashford & Malik (2019) illuminate that student-to-toilet ratios at refugee schools were well below UNHCR minimum standards and that in previous studies and needs assessments refugees have raised these same issues²⁷⁴. These authors also uncovered that the student to latrine ratio is 170:1 in these refugee camps, whilst the national standard is 50:1. They also stipulate that insufficient access to latrine by both girls and boys discourages the use of latrines as the physical structures frequently do not assure user privacy and safety. Finally, these same authors stress that, in the refugee schools studied, girls have to use the same latrine blocks as boys. Paralleling both studies, this situational analysis calls for a comprehensive WASH study in refugee schools be undertaken, in addition to an urgent review of electricity and internet provision in camps. With increasing teaching materials being put online due to Covid-19, internet access has swiftly become an indispensable factor in educational provision across the world²⁷⁵ and it curtails teachers from effectively using student-centred learning²⁷⁶. The basic provision of electricity and internet in refugee camps in Ethiopia should not be excused any longer, and UNICEF should work with ARRA, REBs and the MoE to rectify these issues.

Free sanitary materials should also be provided for girls in ARRA primary school grounds. Parts A and B illustrated how the lack of sanitation and sanitary pad provision at the ARRA primary schools

²⁷² UNICEF Ethiopia (2019) Education for Refugees and Host Communities, p.2.

²⁷³ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

²⁷⁴ See Nigusie, A. A. & Carver, F. (2019) The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework: Progress in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper.

²⁷⁵ McMurtie, B. (2020) 'Students Without Laptops, Instructors Without Internet: How Struggling Colleges Move Online During Covid-19.' The Chronicle of Higher Education; Washington, 6 April 2020.

²⁷⁶ Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

was resulting in female students (and also teachers) not attending school when they had their period. Our findings positively indicated that some INGOs and NGOs were providing free sanitary products and that some students and teachers were accessing this provision. But, these were usually at a distance from the schools, and sometimes at a considerable distance from both the female students and teachers' homes. Also, this free provision by INGOs/NGOs was not recorded across all camps. Thus, to retain the attendance and participation of both young girls and female incentive teachers in ARRA primary schools, this situational needs assessment stringently recommends that free sanitary products in ARRA primary schools become available. We recommend that UNICEF work with the INGOs/NGOs we have outlined in Part C of this report to help facilitate this. If this is not possible, we would again suggest that a similar income generating project to The Dare Women's Foundation in Tanzania is set up²⁷⁷ to increase cheap sanitary pad provision within the refugee camps.

7.2.2 Increase incentives, including salary payment

Both this situational needs assessment and other studies have highlighted that refugees' lack of formal access to most formal employment opportunities in Ethiopia can force them to engage in ad-hoc economic activities and establish informal economic relationships with local communities which can be exploitative²⁷⁸. This precarious situation has led some analysts to suggest that refugees in camps are 'nearly completely' dependent on humanitarian aid for their livelihood²⁷⁹. This situational needs assessment adds to this analysis and claims this precarious position also nudges refugees to become involved in incentive schemes within the camps which pay an unacceptably low salary. Across the camps, the findings uncovered that incentive teachers were being paid between 700 to 920 Birr (US\$19.80-26.10) per month. Most participant groups demanded that this meagre salary was significantly increased to reflect the salary of national teachers, which could range from 3000 to over 6000 Birr per month.

National teachers were also deemed to have a 'benefits package' including free accommodation in the host community next to the refugee camp where they were teaching. A similar benefits package was requested for incentive teachers. The specifics of this benefits package varied depending on the participant. But shelter, food, water and personal items such as sanitary products were most demanded.

²⁷⁷ This is covered in section 6.5 'Address period poverty' in this chapter.

²⁷⁸ See World Bank (2018) World Bank (2018) *Informing durable solutions by micro-data: a skills survey for refugees in Ethiopia*. Available at: <https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/996221531249711200/informing-durable-solutions-by-micro-data-a-skills-survey-for-refugees-in-ethiopia>

²⁷⁹ World Bank (2018) *Informing durable solutions by micro-data: a skills survey for refugees in Ethiopia*, np.

Teacher motivation and incentives are frequently described in the literature as key successes and failures of teaching and learning at schools. Mpokosa and Ndaruhuse (2008)²⁸⁰, who carried out research on teacher training and school management in thirteen countries in the Global South, uncovered that the level and structure of teacher incentives greatly contribute to teaching quality and student achievement. According to this study, incentive schemes must be tightly connected to the desired teacher behaviours and should encourage teachers to make the effort²⁸¹.

Urwick & Mapuru's (2005) analysis of poor teacher motivation in most sub-Saharan African countries supplements these findings. For example, in Lesotho, low salaries; lack of housing near the school; lack of financial benefits and poor condition of school facilities; low professional status; lack of opportunities for professional development; and poor school management and administration were all important factors that contributed to low teacher motivation²⁸².

While the barriers outlined by both studies were also indicated as adversely impacting on the female incentive teachers in our study, these same female incentive teachers appeared as highly motivated. They discussed three recurrent motivations to be a primary school teacher in refugee camps: (i) to help the community; (ii) to improve the quality of education, and (iii) to become role models for the refugee girls and promote the importance of education in the camps. These were the carrots that retained these incentive teachers through exceedingly difficult working conditions. The sticks were the salary amount, being inconsistently paid and having little career progression opportunities.

Our findings unearthed that there were delayed salary payments for incentive teachers in several of the regions studied and strikes in Gambella protesting against this. We arrived in the camps in March 2020 and some incentive teachers had not been paid since December 2019. These factors were major disincentives for both potential and existing incentive teachers. If UNICEF wishes to attract and retain eligible female refugees to incentive teaching, it must pay these women on time. Therefore, UNICEF needs increase its collaborative work with the UNHCR, ARRA and REBs to ensure that incentive teaching is necessarily funded and that teachers are paid on time.

The participants in this study, UNHCR (2015)²⁸³ and UNHCR (nd)²⁸⁴ all recommend introducing a salary scale to 'incentivise' incentive teachers:

²⁸⁰ Mpokosa, C. & Ndaruhutse, S. (2008) *Managing Teachers: The centrality of teacher management to quality education. Lessons from developing countries*. VSO. Available online at:

<https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/read/36353778/managing-teachers-987kb-vso>

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Urwick, J. and Mapuri, P. (2005) *Teacher Motivation and Incentives in Lesotho*, Maseru: Lesotho College of Education.

²⁸³ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

²⁸⁴ UNHCR (nd) Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide.

‘Ensure that teacher compensation is harmonized between all agencies. Also advocate for incentive increments that acknowledge the level of skill required for teachers and to recognize higher levels of skill amongst qualified and/or experienced teachers’²⁸⁵.

The UNHCR (2015) strategy for refugee education in Ethiopia is clear that it supports an increase in refugee teacher incentives, and an incentive payment that ‘takes into account education qualification, years of experience, and performance of teachers’²⁸⁶. It also advocates for a standardised incentive scale on merit base, which eliminates the current blanket scale for refugee incentive payments²⁸⁷.

Incentive teachers need pathways for career development, including promotion procedures²⁸⁸. It was not only the comparison in salaries between incentive and national teachers that de-incentivised the incentive teachers in this study, but also that an untrained incentive teacher earns the same salary as a diploma qualified incentive teacher. Two drop-out teachers – who left incentive teaching for this exact reason – reflected that the introduction of a salary scale for incentive teachers based on their ‘qualification and experience’ (Drop-out teacher, Somali) could provide enough of an incentive to recruit, and retain, eligible female refugees in the main incentive. This situational needs assessment strongly recommends that this is introduced.

Another recommendation is that the diploma awarded to incentive teachers is recognised both within and out with Ethiopia. This accreditation is possible and should be done in consultation with the MoE in Ethiopia and its counterpart in neighbouring countries. For example, Shepler and Routh’s (2012) longitudinal study traced refugees teacher trained through the IRC’s refugee education accreditation programme in Guinea. This teacher training and qualification was accredited in neighbouring countries. The findings showed that some teachers were able to return to their home country and take up a position as a teacher due to having this qualification and experience²⁸⁹. The findings from our situational analysis are clear - more eligible young girls and women would be attracted to the initiative if such recognised accreditation were in place. We would recommend that UNICEF initiate talks with the IRC to learn more about this programme to put together a joint proposal for the MoE in Ethiopia.

²⁸⁵ UNHCR (nd) Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide, p.3.

²⁸⁶ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.15.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Shepler, S. & Routh, S. (2012) ‘Effects in post-conflict West Africa of teacher training for refugee women.’ *Gender and Education*, **24**(4): 429-441. DOI: 10.1080/09540253.2012.674493.

7.2.3 Re-design the initiative as a programme embedded in education policy

In camp settings, where education services are provided outside of the policy framework of a national Ministry of Education, it's essential that UNHCR and all partners recruiting, managing and training teachers come together to establish common, standardized teacher policies and practices. When teacher policies are mixed and determined by individual agencies we risk a lack of accountability amongst both teachers and partners, migration of teachers from one agency to another and dissatisfaction and confusion amongst teachers. Lack of transparency on teacher policies, particularly compensation, can result in harmful tensions between refugee and national teachers²⁹⁰.

This advisory from the UNHCR is remarkably relevant to the findings of this situational needs assessment. The ambiguity in defining existing incentive teacher training initiatives in the camps; the invisibility of these initiatives in refugee education policy in Ethiopia; a lack of official documentation defining the aims and objectives of the main initiative; the unavailability of, hard- or soft-copies, teacher training manuals; the piecemeal teacher training which appears to have at least three separate tracks, and the lack of transparency on incentive teacher policies and practices, has seriously undermined an initiative which is much needed and has considerable potential.

This study calls for this initiative to be upgraded into a cohesive, and transparent, programme that is embedded within refugee education policy frameworks and strategies in Ethiopia. Both our review of literature and our findings has highlighted that this could be a difficult task as, currently, the MoE is delegating the nuts and bolts of refugee education policy implementation to REBs and ARRA. According to the UNHCR's (2015) Refugee Education Strategy for Ethiopia, there are some links and networks between the MoE at different levels and refugee education programmes:

‘[But] the predictability of such relationships is not systematic. Roles and responsibilities and related support from the MoE to refugee schools in different locations have not been well-defined or formalised in a letter of understanding. The existing support provided by the MoE, Regional Education Bureau (REB) and Woreda Education Office (WEO) currently depends on individual interest rather than procedures reflective of established agreements or policy. Because of this refugee schools have not been included in the MoE's General Education Quality Improvement Programme (GEQIP) in the past²⁹¹.

But, these relationships and networks have improved since 2015 due to the arrival of the CRRF and sustained funding from ECW, UNICEF and the World Bank that have supported joint planning workshops between ARRA, REBs and the MoE to align national and regional educational policies

²⁹⁰ UNHCR (nd) Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide, p.3

²⁹¹ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.12.

and standards²⁹². ARRA officials in this study also indicated that there was a memorandum of understanding between ARRA, REBs and regional TTCs to include refugees in the national teacher training provision. But, yet again, no one appeared to have a soft- or hard-copy of this document to hand or could provide one when requested after data collection.

Moving forward, a clear emphasis from the findings is for all levels of stakeholders to join-up to produce an official incentive teacher training programme that is part of a broader refugee education / EiE portfolio. This includes ARRA, Woreda Education Offices, REBs, TTCs and the MoE. But it must also include the voices of refugee communities and international partners (including INGOs) to ensure that this integrated programme meets the needs of the participants in this study and the thirteen refugee camps we were unable to access. In the interim this situational needs assessment recommends that UNICEF manages the development of this programme with a purview to increase the MoE's role in the programme design, management and implementation.

Doing this should facilitate a re-alignment and adaption of this developing programme to mainstream education programmes in Ethiopia. This could also support the necessary development of incentive teaching and teachers through aligning activities such as the induction and orientation of new teachers, continuous in-service teacher training programmes leading to recognised certification, and pre-service teacher training programmes²⁹³. This would enable the alignment of refugee and national teacher management practices, such as recruitment and selection processes, compensation, salary/incentive scales and non-monetary benefit packages, benefits for female teachers²⁹⁴.

7.2.4 More relevant refugee education training

*'All newly recruited, unqualified teachers [must] have access to training in basic teacher competencies within the first three months of recruitment'*²⁹⁵.

The findings presented in this report clearly indicate that the training currently offered in incentive teacher training initiatives is not fit-for-purpose. Across camps and participant groups, the training was regularly described as piecemeal parts of the national teacher training curriculum that did not cover the particularities of refugee education in sufficient depth. The participants came up with a plethora of ideas to improve the training. Most requested was to amend the modular / subject content of the training to focus on refugee education, with foundational modules in psycho-social issues and training, English language acquisition, student behavioural management and working in refugee education / EiE contexts. Also highly demanded was soft-skills provision, including developing

²⁹² Lashford, S & Malid, S. S. (2019) Education for Resilience: Exploring the experience of refugee students in three communities in Ethiopia.

²⁹³ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.14.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ UNHCR (nd) Refugee Teachers: A Quick Guide, p.4.

resiliency skills, for female trainees. Most participants were aware of the intersectional nature of the internal and external barriers that female refugee trainees face when training. Thus it was deemed important that refugee females be encouraged to support each other in training, and that training should specifically address the internal and external barriers they face, and help them to develop the necessary skills in resiliency to cope with these barriers.

Ankomah et al. (2005)²⁹⁶ claim that schools without trained teachers cannot do their job effectively. This is because teachers play a pivotal role in educational provision and thus significantly affect education quality. The quality, relevancy and coherency of teacher training is fundamental to this. Pre-service teacher training, in-service professional development and informal training obtained through on-the-job experience, is universally regarded as central to improving the quality of education at both primary and secondary levels in many countries²⁹⁷.

Since 2015, the development of in-service teacher-training programmes been a key area of development applied across different refugee settings and camps in Ethiopia²⁹⁸. According to the UNHCR (2015), this has been implemented in line with national teachers' in-service teacher training, which has five major components: (i) pedagogy, (ii) participatory approaches to teaching; (iii) assessment of learning processes; (iv) classroom management, and (v) action research. In addition, it covers issues such as child protection and psychosocial support, gender and inclusive education as well as teacher codes of conduct²⁹⁹. The findings from this situational needs assessment emphasise that elements of this in-service teacher training were provided in TTCs and by INGOs/NGOs, but that this wasn't always consistent or easily traced. This was mostly due to a lack of visible documentation to outline the content and delivery of this in-service training.

Relatedly, the participants in this study requested training manuals that the incentive teachers could take home, and that incentive teachers were regularly updated on new guidelines that affected them. Whilst having paperless training manuals and news bulletins are undoubtedly beneficial for the environment, there were no soft copies of either that incentive teachers could access in the refugee camps or TTCs. Until electricity, internet and mobile connectivity issues are resolved in the camps, this study calls for training manuals and news bulletins to be regularly printed for both trainee and incentive teachers as a matter of urgency.

²⁹⁶ Ankomah, Y.A., Koomson, J.A., Bosu, R.S. and Oduro, G.K.T. (2005) *A Review on the Concept of Quality in Education: Perspectives from Ghana*, EdQual Working Paper 1, Bristol: Ed Qual.

²⁹⁷ See (i) Harris, D.N. and Sass, T.R. (2006) *Teacher Training, Teacher Quality and Student Achievement*, Working Paper 3, Center for Analysis of Longitudinal Data for Education Research, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, and (ii) Mpokosa, C. and Ndaruhutse, S. (2008) *Managing Teachers: The Centrality of Teacher Management to Quality Education*. Lessons from Developing Countries, London and Reading: CfBT and VSO.

²⁹⁸ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018.

²⁹⁹ *ibid*, p.14.

7.2.5 Raise awareness of the main initiative / programme

A consensus was reached across all participant groups and camps that there were poor levels of awareness regarding incentive teacher training initiatives currently operating within the camps. This poor level of awareness also includes some of TTC Educators interviewed in this study. Overall, ARRA officials and camp leaders – usually members of the Refugee Central Committee (RCC) – were most aware of the initiatives but this information rarely cascaded down to key stakeholders, such as female refugees. To address the critical shortage of female candidates in refugee education in Ethiopia, the UNHCR (2015) stresses awareness-raising campaigns must be implemented to increase access and participation in both education and teaching opportunities³⁰⁰.

The participants in this study argued that to successfully raise awareness about incentive teacher training initiatives, a parallel awareness-raising campaign about the importance of education for having a career / profession for refugee females should be developed. It was also regarded as important to have key power holders, i.e. parents, clan, RCC and religious leaders support this message ('so they let women work' (Young girl, Gambella)). Not only should they support this message, but they should share it across their networks.

Using posters and local (usually radio) media were highly recommended methods of raising awareness. This media should also utilise multiple languages to ensure it reaches as wide an audience as possible. As discussed earlier in this chapter, local radio is often used as a tool to disseminate messages that confront embedded socio-cultural norms³⁰¹. This situational needs assessment recommends using these tools to facilitate greater female refugee participation in education and in available teacher training initiatives.

Ultimately, ARRA primary schools and, to a lesser extent Development and Inter-Church Aid Commission (DICAC) secondary schools, were largely perceived as key arenas to promote incentive teacher training initiatives. But, as the recruitment strategy operated by some ARRA officials in Gambella highlighted, putting up job advertisements in these schools is not enough. Our findings show that the young refugee girls were largely unaware of these advertisements. Echoing recommendations presented earlier in this chapter, using powerful women as female role models could help overcome this issue.

In 2015 the Global Partnership for Education released an awareness campaign on International Women's Day to honour fifteen women in the world who had used their voice, leadership and

³⁰⁰ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.22.

³⁰¹ See <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p084jg8f>

influence to make progress for girls' education on a global level³⁰². Whilst only two of these women are African, this situational analysis recommends adapting this list to include powerful and influential women from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somali, Sudan and South Sudan to inspire and motivate the young refugee girls. From Ethiopia alone this list could include: Ethiopian president Sahle-Work Zewde, Ethiopian Judge Meaza Ashenafi, Press Secretary for Ethiopia Aster Seyoum, Defence Secretary Aisha Mohammed, Peace Minister Muferiat Kamil, CEO of the Ethiopian Commodity Exchange Eleni G/Medhin, renowned artisan Bethelhem Tilahun and the international author Maaza Mengiste. There is also scope to integrate the Forbes List 50 most influential women in Africa³⁰³ into such an awareness-raising campaign in the camps. We would advise that UNICEF approaches some of these women to directly speak to female refugees, and refugee communities, across Ethiopia. This could have a significant impact on increasing female participation in incentive teacher training initiatives.

7.2.6 Targeted recruitment for females and train them in camp

Another widespread suggestion was to target only females in the recruitment for incentive teacher training initiatives. This report has shown that the recruitment strategy for the main initiative was not attracting sufficient numbers of eligible female refugees. To help combat the pervasive external and internal barriers that are working against the recruitment, and retention, of these female refugees, it was concluded that female refugees should *only* be recruited for the initiative, and that these females should be trained together in the camps.

With teacher turnover and shortages also being key internal barriers in the camps, it may not be plausible to recruit only females. The core internal and external barriers outlined in this report need to be dealt with first so that more female refugees put themselves forward for the initiative. But, there is merit in the suggestion to specifically target females for recruitment and train them separately from male refugees. Some parents and religious leaders in this study were apprehensive about the mixing of males and females outside the camp: 'The training needs to be brought closer to the camps for this reason. So the parents can see their daughters... especially Muslim parents' (Religious leader, Benishangul-Gumuz). The UNHCR (2015) also stress the importance of teacher training in camps. Due to the remote nature of many refugee camps, and long distances to regional TTCs, it was suggested that TTCs be established within or close to the refugee programmes so that trained teachers can benefit from professional development opportunities relevant to their teaching contexts³⁰⁴.

³⁰² Global Partnership for Education (2015) '15 women leading the way for girls' education.' Available online at: <https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/15-women-leading-way-girls-education>

³⁰³ <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/50-powerful-women-africa-forbes-magazine/>

³⁰⁴ UNHCR (2015) Ethiopia Refugee Education Strategy 2015-2018, p.16.

In this study ARRA primary schools and TTCs were commonly perceived as male-dominated spaces where female refugees can potentially experience GBV and gender discrimination. Resulting from this and similar factors, INGOs and NGOs have created female-only spaces within the camps which they use for training, usually focussing on FGM, family planning and GBV. These spaces could potentially be used for female incentive teacher training. Both VSO Bangladesh's 'sister to sister' project with Rohingya refugees³⁰⁵ and Morneau Shepell's Kakuma project in north-western Kenya³⁰⁶ had to create female-only education and training spaces to help overcome the inequities female refugees were experiencing within mainstream refugee education. This situational needs assessment recommends that UNICEF takes advantage of existing INGO and NGO female-only spaces within the refugee camps and uses them as training sites to produce female incentive teachers.

Another recommendation is that UNICEF recruit young female drop-outs from ARRA primary schools and finish their primary school education – at least to grade 10 - as part of the incentive teaching training initiative. Discussed at length throughout the findings, there was a limited pool of female refugees who had completed grade 10 of school. By lowering the entrance criteria *for female refugees only* 'could encourage young girls to join the incentive teaching scheme' (NGO worker, Afar). Our findings show there once existed an incentive teacher training initiative that recruited refugees who had at least a grade 8 education in some camps. But, not all participant groups were supportive of this initiative nor lowering the entrance criteria: 'if entry point is lower, it will increase the numbers...but quality? [He shrugs his shoulders]' (TTC Educator, Afar). This was a conundrum for several participants. While lowering the entrance criteria may encourage more young girls to enrol, it could have a detrimental effect on the quality of female incentive teachers produced.

To resolve this, this situational analysis proposes a two-track incentive teacher training programme that is developed for young female refugees. The first track would recruit eligible – grade 10 educated - young girls and enrol and train them in female-only spaces in-camp. The second track would recruit drop-out girls, finish their education to grade 10 in these same female-only spaces, and provide incentives – including scholarships - to retain them, to then join the first track when they are eligible. There is a myriad of possible training programmes between these two options that UNICEF could develop to potentially recruit, and retain, more female refugees in incentive teaching. ECW could potentially be approached to fund such an initiative as 'girls and young adolescent women are at the

³⁰⁵ See <https://www.vsointernational.org/our-work/where-we-work/bangladesh>

³⁰⁶ Morneau Shepell (nd) 'The Kakuma project: Improving lives through education.' Available online at: <https://www.morneaushepell.com/ca-en/kakuma-project-improving-lives-through-education>

heart' of its efforts to support the delivery of quality education to 8 million children and young people in areas of the world most affected by conflict and disaster³⁰⁷.

Another related recommendation to UNICEF is that it targets female pre-school (ECCE) teachers in the camps who are refugees and recruits them to the initiative. Although we did not interview any pre-school teachers on this study, several participants commented that most of these pre-school teachers have already received some training and are suitably interested in / passionate about education. In consultation with these pre-school teachers, INGOs/NGOs and TTCs, UNICEF could potentially develop an upskilling training programme to allow these pre-school teachers to train to become incentive teachers.

One more suggestion is that existing female teachers (either incentive or national) work as mentors with female refugee teacher trainees. This mentoring work would be built into their workload and they could work one-to-one with grade 8 girls who want to become of incentive teachers but are in danger of dropping-out of primary school. They would work with these girls, encourage them to enrol on the second training track, and mentor these girls until they are eligible to enrol on the first track of the incentive teacher training. This mentoring could also be expanded to support female trainees who are enrolled in the first track of the proposed incentive teacher training.

Plan International's Girls Take the Lead project³⁰⁸ that began in Rwandan refugee camps is a robust example of how such a model could work. This project uses the Better Life Opportunities Model (BLOOM) which is a 'non-formal education programme developed in 1987 that has since been adapted and applied in more than 15 countries'³⁰⁹. This model promotes gender-transformative life skills training to young girls and has been steadily used with young refugee girls. The training for this project produces youth mentors and a variant of this training could be developed to train existing female teachers to mentor young female refugees. Part of this mentorship training would help these mentors to flag the female refugees to extra resources within the camp they need, i.e. language provision, scholarships/ hardship funds, to ensure they stay in education to then enrol on the incentive teacher training initiative.

7.2.7 Provide free language courses in local languages, Amharic and English

The final recommendation of this situational needs assessment is that free language courses be delivered in camps in local languages, Amharic and English. Our findings stipulate that young female

³⁰⁷ Education Cannot Wait (2020) *ECW Gender Equality 2019-2021: Policy and Accountability Framework*. Available online at: <https://www.educationcannotwait.org/download/ecw-gender-policy-and-accountability-framework-january-2020/>

³⁰⁸ <https://plan-international.org/girls-take-lead-rwandas-refugee-camps>

³⁰⁹ Ibid, np.

refugees and female incentive teachers need free language provision to encourage them to stay in primary school and enrol on available incentive teacher training initiatives. Language barriers between teachers and students were regularly reported throughout this study, particularly when female students transitioned to upper primary school where the language of instruction changed from a local language to either English or Amharic, depending on the region. This was regarded as a push factor contributing to female student drop-out. In addition, the main incentive teacher training initiative is taught in English at the regional TTCs³¹⁰. To ensure that female refugees have the necessary skills in English to remain in school from grade 5 and to enrol on teacher training, this study urges UNICEF to increase the provision of English courses within the camps and subsidise them. Part C of our analysis outlined that some INGOs, NGOs and RCC members were already providing some supplemental English language training to incentive teachers, but this was not widespread across the camps. Our participants frequently requested that such language training be free, and easily accessible, to young female refugees, including aspiring / trainee female incentive teachers.

The British Council are currently running Language for Resilience projects in ARRA primary schools across five refugee camps and in eight host community schools in the Benishangul-Gumuz region³¹¹. This is the training that several of the female incentive teachers in Benishangul-Gumuz attended in this study but they could not recall the details. On fact, these teachers mistook this training as part of incentive teacher training. The British Council highlight that there are over thirty first languages in these camps. As a result, language is a major issue in the schools which our findings also indicated. It is English that ‘functions as a link’³¹² between refugees and organisations working in the camps. Therefore, the provision of free and accessible English provision is a priority in these camps, especially if UNICEF wants to recruit more female refugees to participate in incentive teacher training initiatives.

Nevertheless, this situational needs assessment also advocates that free and accessible provision of Amharic and local languages is also provided. This is for three reasons. First, is that the language of provision in upper primary schools, depending on the region, changes to Amharic which can be a significant barrier to learning for refugees who do not know this language. Secondly, removing language barriers between communities can frequently maximise cultural immersion and integration³¹³. Third, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) training in Global South /

³¹⁰ Westfall, A. (2018) ‘How to improve the quality of education in refugee camps? Qualify the teachers.’ UNICEF News 10 September 2018. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/ethiopia/stories/how-improve-quality-education-refugee-camps-qualify-teachers>

³¹¹ <https://www.britishcouncil.org/language-for-resilience>

³¹² Ibid, np.

³¹³ See Yang, P. (2018) ‘Experiencing Learning Opportunities: Removing Language Barriers and Maximizing Cultural Immersion’ In D. M. Velliaris (ed.) *Study Abroad Contexts for Enhanced Foreign Language Learning*. Singapore: IGI Global, pp.120-150.

majority world contexts has increasingly been critiqued as a form of neo-colonialism³¹⁴. Our participants – especially female incentive and drop-out teachers – have underscored why learning solely English is not enough, i.e. their students struggle to understand English and thus their teachers, which can lead to student drop-out. This is why this situational analysis places equal emphasis on local language, Amharic and English language learning. The context of each incentive teacher is unique, and opening up free language learning courses in English, Amharic and local languages potentially bestows agency to each incentive teacher to use their own developing language skills and to encourage other refugees to use free language provision courses within the refugee camp to develop their own. Therefore, this situational needs assessment encourages the free provision of these languages to encourage the participation of as many social groups as possible in refugee camps. Numerous studies insist that the acquisition of a second language can lead to the easier acquisition of a third³¹⁵. Such investment can lead to the growth of human capital³¹⁶ which is a key component of SDG4 on quality education³¹⁷.

7.2.8 Final reflections

The findings from this study fully supports the interventions UNICEF Ethiopia have been putting in place to:

‘... strengthen the collaboration between the MoE and ARRA to jointly plan, deliver and oversee the provision of inclusive and conflict-sensitive education across refugee and host communities. This institutional component underpins interventions that expand and improve school facilities, transform teaching and learning practices, improve learning outcomes, support parental and community engagement in education, and nurture a conducive environment for the greater integration of refugees into Ethiopian society’³¹⁸.

There is still considerable work to be done. The quality of education and the infrastructure in the ARRA primary schools falls short of the aspirations of the refugee communities. In this study, some camps have classrooms with over 120 students. This situational analysis welcomes the integration of

³¹⁴ See (i) Bore, S.K. (2019) ‘Multilingual Education in Kenya: Implications for Culture Preservation and Transmission.’ In B. Johannessen (eds) *Bilingualism Education: Politics, Policies and Practices in a Globalized Society*. Springer: Cham; and (ii) Motha, S. (2014) *Race, Empire, and English Language Teaching: Creating Responsible and Ethical Anti-Racist Practice*. New York: Teachers College Press, Colombia University.

³¹⁵ See (i) Cenoz, J. (2013) ‘The influence of bilingualism on third language acquisition: Focus on multilingualism.’ *Language Teaching* 46(1): 71-86; and (ii) Sanz, C. (2000) ‘Bilingual education enhances third language acquisition: Evidence from Catalonia.’ *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 21(1): 23-44.

³¹⁶ See Jalaluddin, NH., Awal, NM. & Bakar, K.A. (2009) ‘Linguistics and environment in English language learning: towards the development of quality human capital.’ *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 9(4): 627-642.

³¹⁷ See <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/education/>

³¹⁸ UNICEF Ethiopia (2019) *Education for Refugees and Host Communities*, p.2.

refugee learners into host community schools. But, this must not overburden these host community schools, which could result in both refugee and host community children facing even more internal barriers which could significantly impact on their learning. Also, where this integration has occurred in host secondary schools, our findings have unpacked that these secondary schools can often be at a great distance from the refugee camps. For example, in the Afar region one secondary school was 23km from the refugee camp it was serving. Refugee community transport projects, like those developed by EECMY, must be simultaneously developed, and funded, to ensure that refugee students attend these integrated schools.

Thus, an integrated programme – ideally managed by UNICEF and the Ethiopian MoE with internal and external support as outlined throughout this report - must be developed to improve the existing quality of education and infrastructure in the ARRA primary schools at present whilst simultaneously ensuring that host community schools have the necessary infrastructure and resources to suitably accommodate both refugee and host community learners. Again, this must consider community transport projects to ensure refugee learners can be transported safely to host communities.

Internal and external barriers persist for female refugees. This situational needs assessment has set out to offer more insight into the complex, and often fragile, environments of refugee camps to improve the participation of female refugees in available incentive teacher training opportunities. This is thanks to the hundreds of participants in this study who have principally shaped the core recommendations to UNICEF we have outlined throughout this report.

VSO / UNICEF TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS ON FACTORS IMPEDING FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMS IN REFUGEE CONTEXTS

Background:

Ethiopia is the second largest refugee hosting country in Africa, having hosted close to one million refugees as of September 2017¹. Most of these refugees are mainly from South Sudan, Somalia and Sudan and some from Eritrea, being hosted in 26 refugee camps across the country² in the Afar, Gambela, Somalia, Tigray and Benshangul Gumus regions.

Education is a key component to humanitarian support to refugees and aligns to the SDG 4 on delivery of inclusive and quality education for all and to promote lifelong learning. To enable this in Ethiopia, there has been significant investment to train qualified refugee teachers who can effectively teach children within the refugee camps. However, this initiative has been faced with a major uptake challenge, especially in limited participation of female refugee trainees which may also affect the quality of education for girls at the camp level.

There are envisioned factors that could be leading to this limited uptake, including socio-economic barriers, distance to access of schools, lack of encouragement/support to finish upper level primary education, and poor perception around the teaching profession. But further analysis is needed to clearly determine the factors that has impeded the participation of female teacher candidates in the teacher training initiatives, and also to look for insights on how to increase the support for underqualified female refugees so that they can meet minimum requirements for teacher training opportunities.

UNICEF, through its capacity building initiatives, intends to develop a programme that strategically looks into building the skills of potentially qualified female youths in refugee camps for a certification in teaching. One way could be through a fast tracking programme to upgrade the female youths to take up teaching opportunities in refugee contexts. By understanding the challenges affecting potential female youths, UNICEF hopes also to come up with a communications for development campaign to help address cultural barriers to female refugees taking up opportunities in teaching. The programme in a longer term is expected to increase College of Teachers' capacity to design a training program that supports women in general and responds to their specific needs. This acts as the driver and basis for undertaking this situational needs assessment, to enable a programme design that fits the needs and challenges of future female teachers.

To this end, UNICEF has partnered with VSO Ethiopia, to undertake the situational analysis within the camps and surrounding host communities so that well informed and evidence based training program design and implementation can be put in place.

¹ UNHCR- Ethiopia website <https://www.unhcr.org/ethiopia.html>

² <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/eth>

Overall Objective:

The main aim of the situational needs assessment is;

- To understand the factors limiting the participation of potential female teachers in available teacher training initiatives
- To identify the needs of the female teachers in refugee camps for effective response in quality teacher training in refugee settings

Specific Objectives:

Specific questions that the situational needs assessment will seek to answer are;

- What are the social economic and cultural barriers influencing the female teachers' uptake of skill building initiatives in teaching and subsequently teaching opportunities?
- What are the windows of opportunity to fit the potential fast track pre-certification programme in nearby colleges of teacher education, and other training institutions?
- What is the general school dropout grade for the various groups of female refugees in the camps?
- What are the aspirations of the female refugees?
- What recommendations can be proposed to address the barriers that emerge through the situational needs analysis?

Methodology and operational process:

VSO Ethiopia working in partnership with UNICEF Ethiopia will apply various methodologies to undertake this assessment to have adequate understanding of the needs in the 26 refugee camps across the country. A secondary data review will be undertaken to determine what information is available as regards to the assessment objectives and questions. Secondary data collection will be undertaken to incorporate other existing information on the needs and challenges faced by teachers in refugee contexts.

The assessment will take more of a qualitative approach to data gathering and VSO, through its pool of qualified education volunteers, will gather primary data through field visits in all refugee camps where observations, Key Informant Interview (KII), and focus groups discussions, in addition to other participatory data collection methods. VSO Ethiopia will identify competent volunteers who will define the assessment methodology, design data collection tools, and undertake the data analysis and reporting. The VSO M&E global team and education team will ensure that the assessment meets the industry standards for data collection and reporting.

The needs assessment will integrate VSO's core approaches of Social Inclusion and Gender

(SIG), and Resilience in the education, but will apply a multi-sectoral approach in understanding the holistic needs of the refugee female teachers in quality education delivery.

It will target key stakeholders in the refugee space, who will include but not limited to regional and federal level government structures, including ARRA itself, College of Teacher Educations, humanitarian agencies working in the refugee camps, community leaders in both the host communities and refugee camps, refugee teachers, parents and students in both the refugee and host schools.

In order to have an in-depth understanding of the refugee female teachers, UNICEF recommends that all the existing 26 camps in Ethiopia be analysed, so as to ensure the uniqueness of each of the refugee camps is captured and factors influencing the participation of the teachers in each of the areas are picked and determined. This means there will be no need for sampling of the campsites.

However, due to the high number of camp sites, the team of assessors will apply representative sampling in applying the tools by dividing the population into different diverse groups and taking some random population samples in each of the groups. This will be applied especially in areas where there are several camp sites in one region, and where the type of refugees is likely to be from the same group and faced with almost similar environment.

Consent will be requested from all the participants for permission to use the information they provide. Parents or guardians will be requested to provide consent to children (students) under the age of 18 years that get to be interviewed.

The needs assessment process will include the following activities;

1. Identify key informants and other stakeholders and the coordination of the interview activities.
2. Undertake the secondary data review and determine information gaps
3. Tools development and agreement on a data analysis plan
4. Training of the assistant data collectors
5. Tools pretesting (of quantitative data)
6. Primary data collection
7. Data collation, analysis and report writing
8. Dissemination of the findings

The assessment process will include the training of the research assistants who will be trained, besides on the research data collection, on reporting problems identified in the field, considering the sensitivities likely to be encountered whilst in the refugee camps. The team will be trained on safeguarding and the humanitarian principles that are important to observe when working with in a humanitarian context where the interviewees are likely to experience high vulnerabilities such as psychosocial challenges.

Expected outcomes:

The situational needs assessment will be able to determine the underlying causes to the limited participation of female teachers in teacher training initiatives. It will be able to respond to the root causes of the low participation, how widespread the problem is among the female refugee teachers, how the host community initiatives can be integrated to solve some of the identified factors/ challenges, which of the camps is highly affected, and will recommend some of the measures that could be put in place to address the identified challenges.

The assessment will also seek to understand some of the gender specific vulnerabilities, the threats faced by female refugee teachers, and draw lessons that can inform the design of the strategy that would help increase the demand for teacher training among the female refugee community.

Roles and responsibilities:

- VSO will rely on ARRA primarily and UNICEF and UNHCR to coordinate the data collection exercise in the field as they have the mandate and mechanism and sectorial connections in the refugee camps.
- ARRA and UNICEF will provide a focal person to support the operational coordination of interviewees for the VSO volunteers and staff and for later follow ups.
- VSO will undertake the situational analysis/ needs assessment through the identification of competent volunteers in the education sector who have an understanding of the humanitarian and resilience in fragile contexts and social inclusion and gender gaps.
- The VSO Ethiopia, VSO Global M&E team and VSO Global education team, will work together to ensure that humanitarian principles and safeguarding principles are adhered to.
- VSO Ethiopia will be responsible for the delivery of the needs assessment report in alignment to the terms of reference and agreement with UNICEF.

Key Partners:

- ARRA
- UNHCR
- Ministry of Education, Regional Education Bureau,
- College of Teacher Education
- NGOs supporting Education in refugee setting

Timeline:

- The overall assessment is expected to take 3 months, from July to September 2019. June will be used to finalise agreement, recruitment and other preparation as deemed necessary.

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